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A Participatory Study of the Self-Identity of Kibei Nisei Men: A Sub Group of Second Generation Japanese American Men

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A PARTICIPATORY STUDY OF THE SELF-IDENTITY OF KIBEI NISEI MEN: A SUB GROUP OF SECOND GENERATION JAPANESE AMERICAN MEN

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To
my daughter
Ariya
who remains
"forever young"
and
whose spirit moves
through this study

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Background and Need for the Study

The original Japanese immigrants, Issei, came to the United States in large numbers in 1885 and worked the plantation fields of Hawaii before gradually settling and working up and down the West Coast, particularly in California. They worked as domestic and farm laborers largely, and secondarily in such other areas as railroad construction, lumber mills, mining, logging camps, canneries and contract gardening. They also started small ethnic-oriented businesses such as hotels, restaurants, markets and barber shops (Ichioka, 1988; Kitano, 1969; Kikumura, 1981). American citizens welcomed them originally as the ideal immigrant workers to replace Chinese laborers, who were excluded from the United States labor force in 1882 under the Chinese Exclusion Act (Miller, 1969). Many Japanese came with the intent of staying temporarily and then returning after several years to their homes in Japan with a secure financial base. These Japanese immigrants were first labeled as "single, mobile, and industrious," but later were seen as "economic threats." As later reactions attested, Americans--especially Californians--ultimately thought that the Japanese wanted too much:

> They expected upward mobility, and most had no intention of remaining laborers permanently . . . it was their ambition that drew suspicion from the white farming community. Many Californians did not accept the idea that non-whites should share in the American dream . . . [as] summarized in an editorial in the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1910: "Had the Japanese laborer throttled his ambition to progress along the lines of American

> citizenship and industrial development, he probably would have attracted small attention to the public mind. Japanese ambition is to progress beyond mere servility to the plane of the better class of American workman and to own a home with him. The moment that this position is exercised, the Japanese ceases to be an ideal laborer." (Kitano, 1969, p. 16)

The desire for an equitable share and for the full fruits of their labor, as seen through the prejudiced and fearful eyes of the majority, brought reactionary violence in response. Americans moved to deny them the avowed promise of the American dream once they observed their intentions and capacity to aspire to genuine economic and social equality.

The California Alien Land Laws of 1913 and 1920 restricted and then prohibited Japanese aliens, the Issei, who had previously been denied citizenship, from leasing or owning land. Despite these handicaps, the Japanese in the United States continued to thrive within the small social enclaves they created as their own communities. Although most clearly chose to participate as citizens in a new land, many clung fervently to the hope of returning to Japan. The more they flourished, however, the more Californians increased the social and political pressure to restrict their prosperity, including the establishment of legislative barriers.

Everything changed when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1942, and engaged America in the Second World War. The fear of potential mainland attacks fed a hysteria that spawned decades of racism and leading to an era of economic competition. The popular economic and political pressure of the forties to intern the Japanese in concentration camps resulted in the loss of millions of dollars, ownership of thousands of

acres of land, and forfeiture of years of hard work and financial investment (Hosokawa, 1969). In 1942, 127,000 Japanese were interned in concentration camps. The mass incarceration of the Japanese people living in America during the second world war is unique and remains unique in the history of the United States. No other immigrant groups from European, African, Latin America and Asian countries have ever been incarcerated and exiled in such large numbers in the history of the United States. This wartime incarceration and exile remain as central events in Japanese American history. Men, women, and children, alien and citizen alike were herded, under military rule, first to assembly centers and eventually to one of ten "relocation" centers, which were in fact concentration camps. This mass incarceration occurred swiftly with no charges nor trials of the Japanese American people, but simply on the basis of their ancestry and their place of residence. Age, sex, and citizenship had no legal or moral bearing.

When the war was over, many Japanese Americans left the concentration camps wanting to prove even more that they were trustworthy Americans and should never have been incarcerated and exiled. In the process, however, they also experienced, a profound ambivalence about their relationship to America (Hosokawa, 1969). They never abandoned their initial acceptance of the notion of America as the land of opportunity and they truly valued their economic and social gains. At the same time, they realized their physical differences from the Americans. Their sense of identity was grounded in the concurrent view of themselves as both a powerless minority group and also as a capable, hard-working, and proud people who had mythically descended from the gods (Hosokawa, 1969). The wartime incarceration in isolated concentration camps compelled

many Japanese Americans to realize that they could only become Americans only in some modified sense. They learned the stark lesson that they could never fully assimilate into the American mainstream. The incredible post-war success of the Japanese Americans (Sue & Kitano, 1973) contains a pervasive dread that a racist evacuation will occur again, under the right circumstances (Hosokawa, 1969; National Committee for Redress, JACL, 1978).

The gradual self-awareness of all minority groups in the United States that was fostered by the civil rights and anti-war movements of the sixties has impacted the Japanese-Americans as well. The popular image of the Japanese-Americans as "the model minority" (Kitano, 1969) that smoothly assimilates into America was tempered by the more actual political realities and social history of the Japanese in America. Contrary to the perception of the western researchers who state that the Japanese in America are "freed now from the oppression of prejudice and discrimination" (Levine & Montero, 1973, p. 46), Takagi (1973) and Gee (1976) believe that many Japanese-Americans are consciously aware of the unpredictable and subtle racism that continues to exist. Racism still flourishes in America, necessitating continuing vigilance about prejudice and discrimination in relation to Japanese Americans.

The struggle of the first generation Japanese immigrant (Issei) for economic gain and stability and their eventual political and social acceptance is also the struggle of their children, the Nisei, the second generation of the first settlers. Although data on the Nisei are generally well documented in the history of Japanese Americans, the sub-group known as Kibei Nisei, is sparsely documented. The history of the Kibei Nisei is unique:

most were born in the United States between 1910-1930, partially raised and educated in America, sent to Japan for further education and care, and returned to America prior to World War II. Unlike many of their younger Nisei siblings who remained in America at the side of their parents, they were strongly influenced by their experiences in Japan. In the Japanese American community itself their notoriety reached a peak because of their special brand of leadership and other behaviors during the incarceration in the concentration camps. To this day they enjoy a special place as guardians of traditional Japanese values and unyielding attachment to their language and their lifestyles (Kitano, 1976).

Definitions

In the brief time Japanese have been in America, specific generational designations have arisen within the Japanese American community as a means of personal recognition and cultural identity. "Issei" refers to first generation Japanese immigrants. "Nisei" are second generation offspring born to Issei in the United States. "Kibei Nisei" are also offspring of the Issei, but this sub-group was partially or fully educated in Japan before returning to the United States before World War II. In the Japanese American community and in the literature on the Japanese American experience, Kibei Nisei are simply referred to as Kibei, a term actually coined by the Issei. In this study, Kibei Nisei and Kibei are used interchangeably. "Sansei" are third generation Japanese Americans born of Nisei or Kibei parents. "Yonsei" are the fourth generation.

"Japanese Americans" is an ethnic label designating United States citizens with ethnic or racial origins in Japan. The parents of a Japanese American child may be born in either Japan or the United States. Japanese American, however, is an American by nationality, with varying degrees of acculturation from living in America. "Nikkei" is the Japanese community's word for Japanese American.

"*Hakujin*" literally means white (*haku*) person or people (*jin*). This is the common designation in Japanese American community for Caucasian people, regardless of their geographical location.

Statement of the Problem

This dissertation focuses on the self-identity of Kibei Nisei men, a sub-group of second-generation Japanese Americans. The Kibei are unique in that they were born to Issei parents, but were sent to Japan as children to be partially or fully educated in order to reinforce their knowledge of Japanese values and to strengthen their attachment to these core beliefs. They then returned to the United States prior to the outbreak of World War II.

Even with the expanding research on Japanese Americans, researchers have rarely studied the Kibei. Two empirical studies depict the Kibei as a culturally marginal group located between the Issei and Nisei in the acculturation process (DeVos, 1954). Studies also show the Kibei as more rigid and often more maladjusted than the Nisei. (DeVos, 1955). References to the Kibei are found in numerous studies on the Japanese Americans, especially during World War II with the evacuation and incarceration of Japanese

Americans (Kitano, 1976; Hosokawa, 1969; Weglyn, 1976; tenBroeck, Barnhart & Matson, 1954). Hansen and Mitson (1974) found no "sympathetic" study of Kibei, and cite a paucity of Kibei studies from any viewpoint. No studies document the self-identity of the Kibei themselves, hence, this investigation.

How the Kibei perceive themselves is of interest not only in its own right, but also in relation to the way minorities in general define themselves. This study can be useful for educators, policy makers, program developers, and others providing services to these members of society.

People behave as a function of their sense of identity and their self-concept (Glugoski, 1989). People do act in relation to perceptions of themselves (McCandless, 1967). A person's self-concept enhances one's self-identity and is central to the process by which they behave, but also influences the way they evaluate themselves, achieve self-actualization and adjust to the external world (Foster & Perry, 1982). Geertz (1983) asserted that a concept of self as person is universal and exists in all societal groups. As a result he sees self concept as an excellent vehicle for investigating another person's life.

How the Kibei perceive themselves is fundamental to anyone seeking to understand their life experiences. Their self-definition may also bring to light the internal and cultural conflicts that reflect their Japanese heritage. This research thus examined how a subgroup of second generation Japanese American men define themselves, using a dialogic process through which they were able to reflect upon their life experience to reach newer levels of self-understanding. This storying and restorying method is also at the heart of the narrative therapy of Michael White and David Epston (1990).

Theoretical Rationale

This study is based on the participatory research model of Paulo Freire's (1970) dialogical theory of action. In this method of investigation, the researcher and research participants together reflect on the world in an egalitarian and democratic manner. This methodology uses dialogical discourses, thinking, reflection, and interpretation of meaning to reach a better understanding of a life situation, and through intersubjectivity, transform reality to a higher level of consciousness.

The challenge in this research is the application of interpretative techniques to understand and explain the way in which individuals in a process of dialogical-interview create knowledge and meanings that influence how they view and interpret their realities in their own lives.

The purpose of participatory research is to empower the participants, especially oppressed peoples. Empowerment flows from the dialogical encounter between researcher and participants who reflect on their lives, increase their awareness of the condition of their lives and eventually take action to transform their lives.

Freire (1970) contends that the powerless and oppressed are immersed in a role as object rather than as actors in the world. Remaining powerless feeds alienation from active and creative participation in the mutual construction of social reality.

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that affect participant's lives. Empowerment is the outgrowth of participants' changes in self-image and self-concept that enables them to participate in social changes. Kieffer (1981) discussed the various dimensions of empowerment:

> Empowerment incorporates three primary dimensions: (a) development of a more positive and potent sense of self, (b) construction of more critical comprehension of the web of social and political relations which comprise one's experienced environment, and (c) cultivation of resources and strategies, or functional competence, for efficacious attainment of personal and collective socio-political goals. The perspective adapted integrates these facts in a unitary conception, which refers both to a state of being and a process of becoming. We can say that individuals are 'empowered' as they become able to participate in the dynamics of social relations with a personal sense of potency, critical political awareness, and practical strategic skills. Empowerment is, then, the process of developing 'participatory competence.' (1981:15)

In *A Pedagogy for Liberation* (1987) Shor and Freire insisted that empowerment is a social act through which free individuals use their recent freedom to help others to be free by transforming the total society.

Freire (1970) further asserts that the dialogical theory of action does not involve a subject, who is an object by conquest. Instead there are only subjects who meet to "name the world in order to know it consciously and transform it." Dialogue is a mutually rewarding pedagogical experience. In participatory research, investigator and subjects meet on an equal basis for dialogue and through intersubjective thinking and reflection, teach and learn from one another. The pedagogical concept was illustrated by Freire's statement, "In doing research, I am educating, and being educated by the people" (1973:158). Participatory research requires collaboration and cooperation between the research participants and the researcher and this energy can only be achieved through

communication. As an essential communication, dialogue must underlie all cooperation. Furthermore, dialogue does not impose, does not manipulate, does not domesticate, and does not "sloganize" (Freire, 1973). Cooperation leads dialogical subjects to focus their attention on the reality which mediates them and which challenges them when they confront a problem within their reality. Dialogical subjects act upon reality in order to transform it following Freire's idea that posing reality as a problem means critical analysis of a problematic reality. Dialogical theory requires people to unveil their world. A researcher helps the subjects initiate the unveiling process. A researcher must firmly believe in the capabilities of people to name their world and their reality and avoid restricting their freedom in any way.

According to Kieffer (1981), the dialogical model reduces the imbalance within a participatory framework by making explicit relations of power that are normally hidden and by engaging participants, post hoc, in personal ownership. The process surrenders control of information to participants and consciously draws them into their own subjective interpretation. The end result is a mechanism for joint elaboration of personal meanings, personal growth, and development of all collaborators.

Giorgi (1976) indicates that all scientific understanding is developed in a dialogue with phenomena. An explicitly dialogic modality simply accentuates the essential nature of investigation--the encounter of the researcher and co-researchers. Both in the collection and interpretation of data, dialogue promotes objectivity, rigor and reliability as defined within the existential-phenomenological tradition (Giorgi, 1975). "The dialogical principle is the means to avoid subjectivism, or the intersubjective test

appropriate to a humanistic methodology" (Vanenberg, 1974:183). By allowing the researcher to play a more active role in conversation with the participant, there is a greater degree of both honesty and control over the inevitability of subject bias (Kieffer, 1981). Insofar as the biases of prior assumptions and the inclinations of emerging interpretation influence both data gathering and analysis, the "cooperative dialogue" of investigator and interviewee insures more rigorous fidelity to the "phenomenon explored" (Giorgi, 1975), the core concept of the phenomenological idea of objectivity (Giorgi, 1976).

In the dialogic method, the researcher strives to maintain a "naive openness" to each individual's experience. Ernest Beier (1984), communication theorist, calls this process "listening as a child." An investigator must assist participants in clarifying their expressions without superimposing predefined analytic categories.

Understandings are constructed as tentative interpretations throughout the research process and are consistently referred back to the participants for response and refinement. This process is the fundamental assurance of rigor, both in this study specifically and in the phenomenological tradition as a whole, as typified in the reflective listening and communicative mirroring of Carl Rogers' person-centered counseling method. Stevick (1971) states that "rigor dictates that all subjects be invited to describe as fully as possible their own experience in their own language . . . unhampered by the experimenter's prejudice" (p. 14).

The elaboration of meaning through joint inquiry represents rigor and promotes the reliability of the data gathered through participatory dialogue. As Riegel (1976) asserts:

> It is insufficient and distorting to study individuals unless they are studied in their developmental context, and in which development changes are seen in their changing cultural-historical context, can lead to a comprehensive understanding of human activities (p. 349).

Kieffer (1981) concurs with Riegel and adds that effective examination of the developmental dynamics demands that participants be viewed as changing beings, acting and interacting with a constantly changing world. As a result, Kieffer describes a participatory study as a process of examining the relations of participants' biography and history and their intermingling within society. The focal point of concern in participatory research is people and their life experiences. This method of investigation acknowledges the importance of the relationship between people and their environment in a continuous dynamic interaction, requiring that research participants be viewed at a socio-psychological level as individual parts in a complex cultural system. The fundamental unit of participatory study is the whole person as an agent closely interacting with others and with one's environment. Because participatory methodology is holistic, it is inherently pluralistic in its conceptualization, i.e., an investigator uses a comprehensive orientation in order to maintain a clear relationship to the multi-faceted reality of the lived experience participants communicate.

Research Questions

The initial focus of the study was mainly to discover answers to a few basic research questions. Participatory research methodology, by definition, does not limit researchers to their own questions. Instead, researchers are open to new questions as they are generated through the dialogue with participants. This characteristic of dialogical inquiry also applies to the work of this researcher whose questions remain consistent even as new ones emerged.

The original questions were:

1. How does the Kibei male define himself in contemporary American life and society?
2. How does this self-concept relate to his self-identity and to the way he functions in this society today?
3. How do his reflections on his self-identity relate Americans' current understanding of minorities?

In order to obtain the necessary data to answer the research questions, the researcher engaged in dialogue with the research participants. The dialogue with the Kibei men included three main time frames from which they could draw on their experiences: pre-World War II, the World War II period, and post-World War II. These three time periods are commonly accepted as the main historical eras for understanding the experience of Japanese Americans.

Questions to Guide the Dialogue

Life Experiences in Japan Prior to World War II

1. -- What were your thoughts and feelings of being raised and educated in Japan?
   -- What was it like for you?
   -- Did you feel different from your Japanese peers in Japan?
   -- Were you more at home in Japan or in America?
   -- How was your language ability in Japanese?
   -- How did you get along with your peers in Japan?
   -- How was your relationship with your family and relatives?
   -- What were the guiding values and beliefs you gained at that time as you recall today?

Life Experiences in the United States Prior to World War II

2. -- What were your thoughts and feelings after returning to the United States?
   -- What was it like for you?
   -- Did you continue your education or go to work?
   -- Did you feel different from your siblings and peers who remained in the United States?
   -- Was it difficult to readjust to life in the United States?
   -- How did you get along with your family and relatives?
   -- How did you get along at school or work?
   -- Did you feel or experience much "culture shock" when you left Japan and returned to America?

Life Experiences During World War II

3. -- What are your impressions and feelings about the war, evacuation, and the concentration camps?
   -- How was it for you?

-- Were you more closely identified with the Japanese cause or the American cause?

-- What emotions do you remember feeling during this time period?

-- How did you view other Nikkei who were in the same situation?

-- What were your feelings, at that time, of the United States' policy towards the Japanese?

-- How did you feel about the Japanese who remained in Japan, including your family, relatives and friends?

Life Experiences in Post World War II

4. -- What are your thoughts and feelings about your life since the end of the war?

-- Did you achieve any of your personal goals that you cherished before the war?

-- Have you changed any of your beliefs and values from before, during, and after the war to the present time?

-- How have you learned to cope with and develop your life since the end of the war?

5. -- What are your thoughts and feelings about your life at the present time?

-- What are the hopes you still wish to fulfill?

-- What do you wish for the younger generation of Japanese Americans?

-- What do you think others can learn from your unique history?

-- Are there any serious frustrations you continue to carry?

Significance of the Study

At one time, the Kibei were perceived as "a minority within a minority" (McWilliams, 1944: 322) who were "distrusted in both America and Japan" (1944:321). But today, the Kibei are hardly distinguishable from the Nisei as they both enter the evening of their lives. Raised in both America and Japan, but strongly influenced in their formative years by Japanese cultural values and beliefs, they were often perceived differently by their own family, by the Japanese American community, and by the

American community at large. The apparent marginality of this group, living on the fringes of or in the space between two cultures, often led to problems of low self-esteem, depression and unrealized anger (Henkin, 1985). They were also targets for scorn by the Nisei and were even held in low status by the Issei (Kiefer, 1974), the very group that sponsored their sojourns back to homeland. This rejection was a very bitter pill, indeed, because it set up a communicative and relational double bind. Many researchers have concluded that Kibei men especially had problems throughout their lives (Bosworth, 1967; Kitagawa, 1967; Maykovich, 1972; McWilliams, 1944; Opler, 1967; Spicer, et al, 1969; Strong, 1934; Thomas & Nishimoto, 1946; Thomas, 1952).

The current portrait of the Kibei and the image that endures from the literature on the Japanese American experience needs to be reevaluated and amplified in order to promote a more complete story and a more accurate picture, and a more balanced self-identity. This perceptual update can lead to changes in behavior in the Kibei themselves and in the educators, practitioners, policymakers and program developers who interact with and serve them.

Participatory research facilitates changes in the research participants' own perspectives in ways not available through other methodologies. The researcher chose dialogues with the Kibei as the means to more positive and comprehensive self-definitions of themselves and even to re-frames that Kibei could use to transform the meaning of years of earlier trauma.

Through this participatory research, the Kibei men were able to share their life experiences, their struggles, suffering, happiness, and wisdom. Documenting this

information is valuable because now for the first time, everyone in society will have the opportunity to hear their stories clearly. Their life stories can be a source of inspiration for younger Japanese Americans, and for other Asian minorities in the United States, and can enlighten those who still hold a negative image of the Kibei based on their readings of most of the literature on the Nikkei experience.

Background of the Researcher

The researcher is a native California Sansei, a third generation Japanese American, born to Kibei parents. He is a product of the San Francisco public school systems and a graduate of the California State University, San Francisco. After college he entered the graduate program at Ryukoku University in Kyoto, Japan and received a master's degree in Buddhist Studies. He also received his ordination as a Shin Buddhist priest at Kyoto's Nishi Honganji, the mother temple of the United States Shin Buddhist organization, the Buddhist Churches of America.

He has served in temples in Fresno and Los Angeles and he was the director of the off-campus Buddhist Study Center at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu. He also served as director of Buddhist Education for the Buddhist temples throughout the state of Hawaii and was instrumental in developing an interreligious hospital ministry program for Buddhist and Christian clergy in Honolulu. He currently serves as the resident priest at the Buddhist Temple of Marin in Mill Valley. During his doctoral years at the University of San Francisco, he has worked as a counselor for Asian Americans for Community Involvement (AACI), an Asian American mental health center in San Jose

and for the Marin Assisted Independent Living (MAIL), an affiliated agency of the Bucklew Houses in San Rafael. Presently, he is gaining clinical internship hours as a psychological assistant.

Throughout the course of his ministry, he has worked closely with the Kibei who are integral participants of the temple life. He is particularly interested in this group because their life experiences have not been given voice in a comprehensive manner. One of the purposes of the researcher's entry into the doctoral program in Counseling Psychology was to hone his counseling and therapeutic skills in order to address and guide the personal problems and issues which are experienced by members of his temple, including the Kibei members. Addressing the life experiences of the Kibei through dialogue and participatory research methods is also addressing and enriching the personal life experiences and history of the researcher himself.

Delimitations of the Study

The participants who were selected for this study are Kibei men affiliated with the Buddhist temples in the Bay Area, including men from the researcher's own family and relatives. One Kibei participant lives in Salt Lake City, Utah. All are retired, but active in different degrees in their temple community. Seven Kibei men participated in this study and thus, generalizations regarding Kibei men in other geographical areas or with different economic or social circumstances may not be justified.

Participatory research is a relatively new methodology and, according to Kieffer (1981), still lacks an exact vocabulary required to encompass its concerns for interaction

and essence. Currently, many researchers are involved in developing a language to represent adequately an existential-phenomenological view of life and the world (Freire, 1970; Giorgi, 1975; Glugoski, 1989; Kieffer, 1981; & Maguire, 1987). Meanwhile, the researcher confines himself within the acknowledged limits of language intended as relatively adequate representation of the participants' reflections.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter provides a general review of the literature on the analytical orientations and issues that are relevant to this participatory research. A critical and historical overview of research related to traditional Japanese values and beliefs and the Japanese American experience in the United States is also presented. The theoretical framework is self psychology and social theory and the chapter sections are: (a) Traditional Japanese Values and Beliefs; (b) The Japanese American Experience in the United States; (c) The Kibei Nisei; (d) Marginality; (e) Self Identity; and (f) Summary.

Traditional Japanese Values and Beliefs

In Japan, the family rather than the individual is the basic unit of society, and every member feels a sense of obligation to it (Connor, 1977; Ishida, 1955; Lebra, 1976; Maykovich, 1972; Nakane, 1970; Yamamoto and Kubota, 1983). This is reminiscent of Carl Whitaker's notion that individuals do not exist except as fragments of families (Whitaker & Malone, 1953). The male head *(koshu)* of the household is vested with control and authority. Within reason and tradition, his word is law with little room for challenges by the subordinate members. Authority carries concomitant duties and responsibilities not only to manage the family property and wealth and provide a future heir to the house, but also to support all members of the household, arrange for marriages, and make education and guidance available to the younger people of the family

(Benedict, 1946). The eldest son (chonan) was next in seniority, inheriting all the rights and privileges of the family property in accordance with the old law of primogeniture. The continuance of the family name and line is so important to the Japanese that families without a male heir will usually adopt a son either from the paternal or maternal line. Thus, marriage is not primarily a matter of love as a duty of procreation in order to preserve the family line and tradition.

The family is a powerful social and economic unity, especially in rural Japan. The intimate associations of working, sleeping, bathing, eating and sitting around together create an intense social bond within the family group. This strong bond in turn transcends any individual and creates an intensely clannish unit in which the behavior of the members consists of acting in the family name, of defending family honor, of doing things on behalf of the family, and of being worthy of the family ancestors (Ishida, 1955). Every member of the family works not for himself, but for the group; and willingly gives devotion or makes sacrifices on behalf of those in authority.

Filial piety is the supreme virtue within a family, and in relation to society as a whole. The importance of filial virtue is reflected in a phrase from a lesson in *Shushin*, Japanese Moral and Ethical Instructions: "There is nothing that will make one's parents happier than filial piety" (ibid, 1955:29). This virtue reigned during the feudal period of Tokugawa Japan (1600 - 1867) by the practices of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Bushido, The Way of the Warrior (Maykovich, 1972), and continued to exert its strong influence into the Meiji period (1868 - 1911) when the first generation of Japanese immigrants (Issei) began to make their way into the United States.

Thus the family in Japanese life was an end in itself and members zealously guarded its honor and revered its tradition and ancestors. Another lesson in *Shushin* expresses this thought further:

> If everybody in the family does his best on his own assigned task and serves the Emperor's country faithfully, not only will the prosperity of his family be increased but also, in turn, the honorable position of his family and relatives. But, on the contrary, if there should be some persons of indolence or of bad behavior in a family, they will bring suffering upon all of the family members, and their relatives will have to suffer loss of face in their community. In this manner a person's conduct will immediately reflect upon the happiness of the family and also reflect upon the good name of his ancestors. Therefore, everyone in the family should be of the same mind, to prosper and to honor the family's name, and to be a good descendent of his ancestors and a good ancestor for his own descendants. (1955: p. 30)

This emphasis on the importance of family over individual desire has had the effect of developing inhibition, reserve, and self-control. Another factor that served to develop these same traits is the custom residing within a household with members of an extended family. The children are taught to rely less on themselves and their individual abilities, and more on traditions and customs transmitted from one generation to the next.

In a stratified and hierarchical society such as exists in Japan, family unity and solidarity became characteristic of kin groups that stressed obedience to parental authority. This created in-group characteristics of exclusiveness and hostility toward outsiders with members feeling relatively at home within their family circles, but uneasy outside of it. At the same time, family cohesion created the restraint of free expression of opinion in consideration of the feelings and face of others, because one must protect his own status or face in society or family life. For fear of hurting others' feelings, the

Japanese often hesitate to express themselves frankly, behave spontaneously, or assume initiative; furthermore, they are apt to be sensitive to criticism, and timid to express their own ideas and frank opinions. They tend to exhibit extreme reserve in interpersonal relationships outside their family and extended family circle.

Okano (1976) elaborates on the hierarchical relationship in Japanese life in terms of two related concepts, enryo and amae. *Enryo*, according to Kitano (1969), is "modesty in the presence of one's superior" (p. 123), but this simple meaning is somewhat misleading. More accurately, enryo describes the tendencies of Japanese to react with reticence in a variety of "ambiguous" or "embarrassing" situations.

Kitano (1969) includes as examples of modest behavior a hesitancy in speaking out at meetings, especially when non-Japanese are present; refusing social invitations; choosing less desired alternatives when give a free choice; and hesitancy in asking questions. An *enryo* syndrome is symptomatic of extreme self-consciousness that displays itself as a hesitancy to be assertive for fear of making oneself a "fool" in front of others. The *enryo* syndrome applies to a host of behavioral patterns that Westerners may often interpret as a charming, considerate Japanese manner: the reluctance to inconvenience others, the apparent devaluation of self and one's family, and extreme modesty. In actuality, the *enryo* concept reflects a complex and subtle system in interpersonal relations and, of course, should not be misinterpreted as an unwillingness to work hard and compete in the work place.

A complementary concept is expressed in *amae* as described by a Japanese psychiatrist (Doi, 1962, 1973). *Amae* is a key concept in understanding the Japanese

theory of personality structure. The term expresses a basic need to be loved and to depend upon another. Doi, however, emphasizes that there is no single English word or equivalent to this concept. The general use of *amae* describes children's attitudes or behaviors toward their parents, but the cultural phenomenon also applies to adult relationships. Doi regards the desire to *amaeru* (the verb form of *amae*, i.e., to be dependent upon another) as a basic feature of the Japanese personality. If this need to *amaeru* is thwarted, potentially pathological consequences may follow. These include *kodawaru,* which refers to a feeling that one is not accepted by others and hence "to be inwardly disturbed over one's personal relationships" (1962:2). Another consequence is expressed by the word *sumanai*, which refers to a feeling of guilt or unfulfilled obligation.

Enryo and *amae* often describe very subtle interpersonal relationships. Strong ambivalence, for example, is often associated with the use of *sumanai.* In Doi's interpretation (1962), a person who says *sumanai* feels very aggressive because of the frustration of his wish to *amaeru*. But in using the self-deprecating term, *sumanai*, a person is actually trying to make amends for his aggressive behavior. In Doi's words, "more than showing his feeling of being obligated he tends to create a sense of obligation in the person to whom he is apologizing, thus 'forcing' that person to cater to his wish" (1973:2). This follows the subtle cues and non-verbal communication theory of Beier and Young (1984) by which people are creating emotional climate in others.

Doi admits that the attitude of *amae* is not uniquely Japanese, but stresses the lack of a translational equivalent in English or in the European languages. Even if the concept

is translated simply as "dependency needs", he suggests that there is something deeper than a linguistic difference--perhaps a basic psychological difference between East and West. Doi further says that dependency on parents is fostered and institutionalized in Japan, whereas the West has the opposite tendency. Control theory posits the same need--love and belonging--in all people regardless of culture, but it appears the Japanese concept of amae represents a cultural variation of a universal need to belong (Glasser, 1984; Powers, 1973). Writing from an outside observer's perspective, Benedict (1946) says much the same, but a reader must keep in mind the fact that the statement is almost fifty years old. Much has changed in the cultures and developmental psychologies of both countries.

> The arc of life in Japan is plotted in opposite fashion to that in the United States. It is a great shallow U-curve with maximum freedom and indulgence allowed to babies and to the old. Restrictions are slowly increased after babyhood until having one's way reaches a low before and after marriage. (1946:54)

In addition to such values as *enryo* and *amae*, other writers (Furuta, 1980; Kitano, 1969; Mass, 1976) have identified various values, including such concepts as *gaman* (patience, and endurance in the face of hardships), *giri* and *on* (prescriptions regarding the fulfillment of obligations to others), *haji* (personal shame associated with responsibility to family and community), *chu* and *ko* (loyalty and duty to superiors and family, respectively), and *oyakoko* (filial piety) which was previously discussed. Such values define a system of traditional social interaction in which honor, respect for authority, self-restraint, and obligation and responsibility are emphasized (Kuroda, Kushi & Masaki, 1972), and to the extent these values are formalized, they definitely form

reference pictures of personal goals which serve as inner motives for behavior (Glasser, 1984).

Connor (1977) presents five major characteristics exhibited by the Japanese: collectivity; duty and obligation; hierarchy; deference; and dependency. Further, he states that these major social orientations serve as interpersonal rules guiding people's subsidiary psychological and behavioral choices of actions: (1) A reliance on the group; (2) Children are trained to be docile, obedient, and dependent; (3) The strongest emotional bond is between mother and son; (4) An overriding emphasis on hierarchical relationships; (5) A great emphasis on duty and obligations; (6) Relatively strong dependency needs; (7) An emphasis on passivity or non-aggressiveness; (8) A submissive attitude towards authority; (9) An emphasis on collaterality or "we" against "they"; (10) Achievement is largely seen in terms of goals set by others; (11) An emphasis on ascribed status; (12) A compulsive obedience to rules and controls; (13) A great obligation to the family with deference to parental wishes; (14) An emphasis on self-effacement; (15) A restriction of personal relationships to a small group; (16) A great feeling of responsibility towards those with whom he has a tie; (17) Deference and politeness to superiors at all times; (18) A sense of fatalism; (19) Success is achieved through self-discipline and will power; and (20) An emphasis on precise rules of conduct and compromise that takes the form of "situational ethics." Whatever works is the basic principle (Connor, 1977:42-43).

The researcher will rely on this succinct summary of the traditional Japanese values and beliefs and will use these descriptors as a guide to understanding the

experience of the Japanese Americans even though he makes no claims about the degree to which these traditional values are present in Japan today.

The Japanese American Experience in the United States

Pre-World War II

When the Japanese Issei first immigrated to the United States in 1885, they immediately fulfilled the demands for cheap labor in California which had been filled by the Chinese until their exclusion in 1882. The exclusion of Chinese immigrant laborers was not based on economic factors, but was fueled primarily by "an ideology of White supremacy and Oriental inferiority that was wholly compatible with the mainstream of American racism" (Daniels, 1971:3). The Issei were young and single and they accepted any kind of work--farm labor, domestic work, mining, lumber milling, cannery work, railroad construction, and fishing. Many dreamed of returning to Japan with a secure financial base, but as the Issei took wives, often by arranged marriages to "picture brides" back in Japan, they started families and sought more stable and secure work. They began to move out of the menial labor force and achieved especially notable success in agriculture. By 1918, nearly half of the 70,000 Japanese in California were involved in agriculture (Ichioka, 1988). Though controlling only one percent of the cultivated land in California, the Issei produced nearly ten percent of the dollar volume of California's crops; but, unfortunately, their economic success only fueled a rampant racial discrimination against them.

The Issei were not allowed to gain United States citizenship because the Constitution originally provided that "any alien, being a free white person who shall have resided within the limits under the jurisdiction of the United States for a term of two years may be admitted to become a citizen thereof." Following the Civil War in 1876 and the abolition of slavery, the 14th Amendment was passed to include "persons of African nativity or descent" among those eligible for citizenship (Ichioka, 1988). No matter how long the Issei lived in the United States they could not become citizens. The Issei did, in fact, challenge the naturalization statutes as early as 1894 with at least seven legal suits; they were all dismissed (Chuman, 1976).

The anti-Japanese movement grew directly in proportion to the Issei's economic success. The San Francisco Chronicle ran a series of anti-Japanese stories throughout 1905. In 1906, the mayor of San Francisco, Eugene E. Schmitz and political backers pressured the San Francisco school board to segregate ninety-three Japanese school children. The Japanese government strongly protested the mistreatment and succeeded in engaging in open negotiations with the United States government not only about school segregation, but also all matters related to Japanese immigration. The Japanese and the United States governments reached a "Gentleman's Agreement" in 1908 in which the Japanese voluntarily stopped issuing new labor passports to travel to the United States, and the United States government ordered the San Francisco School Board to revoke its decision to segregate Japanese children. The agreement halted further immigration, except to allow travel for partners, wives, and children of those who were already in the United States.

Discriminatory practices continued in spite of these modest agreements. In 1913, the first anti-Japanese land law was passed as the California Alien Land Law, prohibiting land purchase by "aliens ineligible to citizenship." Although ownership was prohibited, leasing was still permitted so the Issei continued land tenure by incorporating with cooperating whites who nevertheless retained control. With a growing number of American-born children, the Issei then wisely transferred title to their citizen children. But California legislators sealed the loopholes of the 1913 Alien Land Law by adding an amendment in 1920 that banned the Issei from buying land in the name of their children. The new law, passed in California by more than a three to one margin, prohibited leasing and sharecropping in addition to land purchase.

Citizenship also continued to elude the Issei as the Supreme Court reached an ominous decision in 1922 regarding Takao Ozawa's application for citizenship first made in 1914. The Supreme Court upheld the 1790 Naturalization Law, which stated that ". . . the privilege of naturalization was confined to white persons." Inasmuch as Negroes were granted naturalization rights after the Civil War, Ozawa was denied citizenship because he was neither white nor black.

Finally, in 1919, a number of organizations including the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, the American League, the State Grange, and the California Federation of Labor formed the Oriental Exclusion League. They lobbied Congress intensively with five basic demands: (1) Cancellation of the Gentleman's Agreement; (2) Exclusion of picture brides; (3) Rigorous exclusion of further immigration by Japanese; (4) Maintaining the bar against naturalization of all Asians; and

(5) Amending the Federal Constitution to deny citizenship even to native-born Asians (Daniels, 1971: 17). The lobbying pressure culminated in the Immigration Exclusion Act of 1924, baldly stating that immigrants "ineligible for citizenship" were denied admission into the United States. This Act limited all immigration to the United States from any country, but prohibited all immigration from Japan, an exclusion that was not lifted until 1953.

As the Issei encountered hatred and hostility from outsiders, they sought even more intimate support within their own ethnic Japanese communities, especially in such cities as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle. The Issei farmers, of course, were not all driven off their land, but since social acceptance in the larger American community was highly uncommon, the Issei met their needs for social acceptance and belonging in their own communities. These communities became the training ground where the Issei oriented their Kibei and Nisei children to social values and imparted the traditional cultural values of the Old World institutions they transplanted in the United States (Ishida, 1955; Miyamoto, 1973; O'Brien & Fugita, 1991). Reinforced by the solidarity of their ethnic community, the Japanese family in the United States transmitted a strong four-part cultural heritage to the Nisei: (1) submission to and recognition of parental authority and prestige; (2) acceptance of family responsibility; (3) maintenance of an inviolate integrity of family status within the community; and (4) inculcation of the virtue of filial piety. The Nisei manifested these cultural traits by generally behaving quietly and passively, with restraint and reserve (Ishida, 1955).

The ethnic communities of the Japanese were upheld by the institutions of the Issei (Ishida, 1955; Ichioka, 1988); Daniels, 1988). The Japanese associations initially assisted as governmental intermediaries in connecting the Issei with their "picture bride" wives, children, and relatives. These associations declined steadily in importance after the abrogation of the Gentleman's Agreement by the United States government in 1924 and as the Nisei generation gradually assumed more responsibilities in their communities. The *kenjinkai* or the prefecture association groups based on the place of birth in Japan provided both social and economic support. Socially, the *kenjinkai* provided intimacy within a group larger than one's family. Economically, the associations served as mutual aid societies by providing financial assistance to those in need. The Japanese language press also served as a unifying force within the Japanese communities, providing direct access to the culture and politics of Japan, and often reinforcing a Japanese version of the world. The press also provided a voice to the cultural, social, economic and religious development of the communities themselves. Churches also served as a strong community focus with many Issei opting for Christian faith for themselves and their Nisei children. Most Issei and Nisei remained steadfast in their belief in Buddhism, a religion of the family in Japanese life.

In general, pre-War Japanese American communities achieved lower middle class economic status, especially on the West Coast (Kitano & Daniels, 1988). The communities, however, were still under the control of the Issei economically, socially, and politically. Most Nisei were still economically dependent on their parents in 1942 when their average age was 17. Even with the advantage of higher education, Nisei

between the ages of 21 and 35 were often powerless in the larger American society as they faced brutal racist discrimination. The Nisei generally were powerless within their own communities as the Issei still held positions of authority. This was a narrow social stratum in America trapped in a fateful bind between a cultural sense of duty and respect and irrational and destructive fear and hatred. And while the Nisei were influenced by the Japanese language, tradition, and thought patterns at home or Japanese school, they were nonetheless more American than Japanese. Despite attending Japanese language schools for many years, most Nisei never grasped more than the rudiments of their parents' native tongue, perhaps because learning Japanese well would keep them ostracized by the oppressive acts of white members of the dominant culture. Their command of the English language, however, surpassed the Issei and they were better equipped than their parents to handle a wide variety of social situations. They never despaired in the aspiration to be accepted by middle-class America, but were shut out because of their ethnic heritage.

Evacuation and Incarceration

The period euphemistically known as "evacuation and relocation" remains the central event in the Japanese American experience in the United States. This was the first time in history that a single group was herded into concentration camps because of their ethnicity and banned from exercising legal recourse. Of all Asian and European immigrant groups, only the Japanese American community of approximately 127,000 people was ever locked up in a concentration camp.

This period of Japanese American history has been extensively studied and documented (Daniels, Taylor, & Kitano, 1986) with scholars examining the sociological, anthropological, economic, legal , and political aspects of the concentration camps throughout the country (tenBroeck, Barnhart, & Matson, 1954; Thomas & Nishimoto, 1946; Thomas, 1952; Modell, 1973; Wax, 1971; Broom & Riemer, 1949; Broom & Kitsuse, 1965). Former War Relocation Authority staff members have also documented this shameful event in the annals of the American saga (Leighton, 1964; Myer, 1971; Spicer, Hansen, Luomala, & Opler, 1969). Former inmates have also recounted their experiences in the camps (Okubo, 1946; Sone, 1953; Kitagawa, 1967; Houston & Houston, 1973; Uchida, 1982; Yoneda, 1983). There are also surveys of the total camp experience (McWilliams, 1944; Grodzins, 1949; tenBroeck, Barnhart, & Matson, 1954; Bosworth, 1967; Girdner & Loftis, 1969; Daniels, 1971; Weglyn, 1976). Since this period has already been studied so widely, only a summary will be given here.

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese navy bombed Pearl Harbor, initiating World War II in the Pacific region. On the same day, the FBI went to the Japanese communities and arrested Issei leaders whom the FBI alleged to be potentially dangerous to the United States government. Within a few months nearly 3,000 leaders were labeled enemies, arrested, and incarcerated in alien detention centers located throughout the United States. Having abruptly lost its leaders, the Japanese community was horribly confused and anxious over what would happen to them in the future.

The first few weeks after Pearl Harbor, hostility toward Japanese Americans was mild to moderate (Wilson & Hosokawa, 1980), but the hostility began escalating in early

1942. The plan for removing Japanese Americans from the West Coast started with the establishment of the Western Defense Command on December 11, 1941. Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt was named commander and he quickly recommended a plan to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson to exclude all Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

Bolstered by years of anti-Japanese propaganda, DeWitt's recommendation led President Franklin Roosevelt to sign Executive Order 9006 even in the light of the then secret Munsun Report of 1941, FBI findings, and other intelligence surveillance which concluded that there was virtually no danger or sabotage from the Japanese American community. Nevertheless, the "Japanese problem" was turned over to the United States Army, which teamed up with a newly created civilian organization, the War Relocation Authority (WRA), and jointly supervised the massive evacuation of Japanese Americans.

Nikkei civilians were first sent to nearby temporary detention centers, then to ten inland concentration camps located in Gila River, Arizona; Granada, Colorado; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Jerome, Arkansas; Manzanar, California; Minidoka, Idaho; Poston, Arizona; Rohwer, Arkansas; Topaz, Utah; and Tule Lake, California (Daniels, Taylor, & Kitano, 1986). From March to November 1942, over 110,000 were moved with severe damage to all--lost homes, families ripped apart, and other personal and social trauma. Forced to make hasty decisions about their property and businesses in the short period of time before shipment to the concentration camps, the Japanese American population suffered immeasurable economic losses.

By the end of 1942, the concentration camps were well established and the WRA had worked out a system of granting clearances to internees who passed loyalty tests to attend colleges in the Midwest and the East that would accept Japanese Americans. Some went to work in factories, on farms, or in domestic service.

Ironically, with the war escalating in Europe and the Pacific, the War Department looked to the camp "criminals" as a source of recruitment for military duty. The War Department and the WRA unveiled a loyalty questionnaire in January 1943 and made the loyalty questionnaire mandatory for all inmates regardless of their plans to apply for work, an education furlough, or enlistment. Many inherent problems surfaced when the authorities imposed a loyalty registration upon an imprisoned population. Controversy arose in each camp, especially regarding questions 27 and 28 in the loyalty survey.

> No. 27 Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?
>
> No. 28 Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other government, power, or organization?

Women and older men feared swearing "Yes" to Question 27 would mean automatic conscription. Issei naturally feared becoming stateless persons by swearing "Yes" to Question 28, as they were legally barred from ever attaining U.S. citizenship.

Most inmates were willing to prove their loyalty in whatever manner asked and so they responded "Yes-Yes" to Questions 27 and 28. Others wanted to join the army and

fight the Axis powers and, of course, many saw the fealty oath as a way of speeding up the process of leaving the camps.

Thousands of evacuees who responded "No-No" who gave mixed or qualified answers to the two questions, or who refused even to register for the questionnaire were classified as "disloyal." Negative and qualified responses were highest in camps where the administration handled the questionnaire poorly or resorted to bullying tactics, confirming the control theory tenet that no one can force human beings to do anything that they view as a matter of conscience (Glasser, 1984). Tule Lake was a particularly abusive camp containing the most persistently non-cooperative and resistant residents. The residents' collective action branded them as "disloyal" in the eyes of the American public and turned Tule Lake into a "segregation camp" because it had the largest numbers of avowed "disloyal" evacuees among all camps.

There were many reasons for negative and mixed responses to the two questions. Many protested by refusing to affirm their loyalty to a government which had thrown them into concentration camps in violation of their basic constitutional rights. Some did not want to be forced to move again. Some chose their responses so that their families would not be separated. Among others, bitterness at their treatment fanned pro-Japan sentiments in the camps and the radical group of segregants began to agitate at Tule Lake after being designated as the "segregation camp."

Men of draft age who swore their loyalty to the United States had the option of serving in the military, first on a voluntary and later, as the government became more desperate, on a compulsory basis. Segregated Japanese American combat units were

formed with recruits from the camps and Hawaii. The 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team eventually took part in some of the heaviest fighting in the European theater. The 442nd unenviably became the most highly decorated unit of its size in U. S. military history, suffering casualties over three times the unit's original strength. Thousands of Japanese Americans also went to the Pacific as soldiers, interpreters, and military intelligence agents. Meanwhile, their families remained behind barbed wire in concentration camps in isolated and barren sections of mostly Western states.

In January 1944, all young men of draft age in the camps were unilaterally reclassified from IV-C, "enemy aliens," to I-A. The draft boards totally ignored the categories established by the loyalty oath. This action again brought strong resentment from Japanese Americans and as the draft boards began calling on the Nisei for induction into the Army, over 250 resisted and refused to serve. In comparison to the thousands of enlistees, 250 dissenters was a small number.

The atomic bombings to Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 precipitated the end of World War II and in mid-1946 all remaining evacuees left the camps where they had spent more than three years. A few repatriated to Japan, but the majority remained in the United States determined to reestablish their shattered lives. Survivors faced losses of savings after a lifetime of work, and unfair losses of homes and farms through business deals with unscrupulous hatemongers. Incidents of shootings, arson, and other violence against Japanese Americans were all too common as they returned to the West Coast at

the end of the devastating war. The period may be summed up by the following statement:

> The entire Japanese American program violated and degraded the basic individualism which sustains a democracy. It impaired the trial tradition of common law. It disparaged the principle that guilt is individual. It sapped the vitality of the precept of equality. *It made racism a constitutional principle.*
>
> It tolerated preventive incarceration for assumed disloyal beliefs and attitudes--unaccompanied by acts--attributing them without proof, probable cause, or reasonable suspicion to an entire group on the basis of race. Recklessly and unnecessarily, it loosened judicial control of the military and produced dangerous imbalance in our government. The episode embodied one of the most "sweeping and complete deprivations of constitutional rights in the history of this nation." (tenBroeck, et. el., 1954: 325)

Post World War II

The McCarthy era of the early 1950's also had a devastating follow-up effect because it reinforced the idea that to be different was an act of subversion. The incarceration of Japanese Americans was further justified retroactively by the passage of the 1950 Internal Security Act. This measure authorized, in part, the revival of the concentration camps should those become a "military necessity." Meanwhile, the Nisei consciously created mental barriers to shut out all memories of the concentration camps.

There were some gains for Japanese Americans in the post-war period, particularly the Walter-McCarren Act of 1952 reversed earlier legal restrictions and extended Issei the right to naturalization. In 1956, the alien land laws were finally repealed, but only after long and bitter challenges by die-hard racist legislators. Post-war America experienced further assimilation and the inevitable acculturation of Japanese

Americans into the mainstream. But the Japanese values of family, children's obligations to parents, and mutual dependence persist to this day. Since the 1960's, an increased awareness of the wartime experiences of the Issei and Nisei and of endemic racism throughout America has heightened the political and social activism of the Sansei and Yonsei.

The recent financial reparations for the World War II evacuees partially redresses the earlier inhumane treatment, and is largely an outcome of the present political and social activism within the Japanese American communities. At the heart of the issue of restitution was the long-standing sense of inequality and injustice that engendered such outrage among Japanese Americans and a unrelenting demand for justice, acknowledgment of injury and compensation (Daniels, Taylor & Kitano, 1986; Hohri, 1988; National Committee for Redress, 1978).

The Kibei Nisei

Kibei Nisei are second generation Japanese Americans who were born in the United States, but fully or partially reared and educated in Japan before "returning to America," the literal rendering of Kibei. The practice of sending at least one child to be educated in Japan was most popular between 1920 and 1940 (Kitano, 1969). Another reason to send the child to Japan to be raised and educated in Japan was so that the parents could remain and build their financial assets before they themselves returned to Japan (tenBroeck, Barnhart, & Matson, 1954). They were usually raised by their grandparents or other relatives while living in Japan.

Most of the Kibei returned to the United States in the 1930's, many in their mid to late teens. While their reasons varied, most returned "home" to join their families from whom they were separated from three to ten or more years. Some returned to avoid Japanese military conscription. The great increase of Kibei returning to the U. S. after 1937, and especially during 1940 and 1941 occurred for two possible reasons--to escape Japanese military service, especially in China, or to be in the United States with one's family once war with the United States became imminent (tenBroeck, et. al., 1968).

The returning Kibei, however, soon realized that they were a "minority within a minority" (McWilliams, 1944) and held the characteristics of "a new immigrant group" (ibid: 321). They were often in conflict at home because their conservative Japanese way of life was antithetical to the more open and liberal American lifestyle of their Nisei siblings. They saw eye-to-eye with the Issei on one level, but their longer years of education and life in Japan created a chasm with the Issei who had lived longer in the U. S. than their Kibei children.

Many Kibei youths found themselves to be misfits among both the Issei and Nisei, as well as among Americans in general. In control theory terms, they carried around a perpetual and painful perceptual error (Glasser, 1984). They were unable to speak English as fluently as their Nisei siblings and peers, and they behaved more like the Japanese in Japan. As a group, the Kibei youths became either timid introverts or belligerent troublemakers, suffering in both cases from deep-seated inferiority complexes (Kitagawa, 1967). A more reasonable explanation coming from control theory is that

they felt the pain of powerlessness and could not find effective new behaviors to meet that fundamental need for competence and worth (Glasser, 1984).

Some of the Kibei bitterly blamed their parents about being sent to Japan, where they were not always accepted either, and where they lost ground in really mastering English and becoming fully Americanized (Bosworth, 1967). Other Kibei exhibited the psychology of a rejected child who finds it difficult to adjust himself to the parents and siblings who had rejected him earlier (Spicer, Hansen, Luomala, & Opler, 1969). They were strangers to their own families, not only due to cultural differences of language and behavior, but even their parents' affection for them was often strained and awkward. They were more proficient in Japanese than English and, therefore, their social contacts were with other Kibei and Issei. They were seriously lacking in American recreational skills such as dancing and so they turned to their own clubs for amusement. They were American-born, but were not familiar with the American system of government or the American way of life and they were frequently ridiculed and avoided by the Nisei. At the same time, they were wounded intensely by the abridgment of their legal and civil rights, which they thought were inviolable. Thus, at home and in social situations, the groundwork for maladjustment was laid (Ishida, 1955) because they were trapped in a web of double binding messages and contexts (Glasser, 1984). Comparative studies of Kibei and Nisei have indicated a greater degree of rigidity and maladjustment among the Kibei (Caudill & Frost, 1973; DeVos, 1954 & 1955).

Of the Japanese on the West Coast, 9,892 or 8.8 per cent were Kibei (Thomas, 1952:580). Based on the refinement of WRA figures by Thomas, however, Wilson and Hosokawa conclude that about 9,300 of the evacuees were Kibei (1980:222).

The evacuation and incarceration of the Japanese into concentration camps created a condition that brought the Kibei into prominence. The Kibei, who were often just becoming accustomed to their American homes, work, and play would now encounter various problems that would harass and frustrate them intolerably. Of all the Japanese in the United States, the Kibei as a whole were mistrusted by American authorities and suspected of espionage and sabotage. And the reaction of the Kibei, who were older than the Nisei, was often one of bitter resentment. They were especially sensitive to the abridgment of their citizenship rights, which they thought were inviolable. They did not want to admit that they were racially inferior, as had been the argument often advanced to them while they were attending schools in Japan, especially in reference to history lessons of Japanese diplomatic defeat at the Washington Conference. A Kibei, who eventually renounced his citizenship and repatriated to Japan after the war remarked: "The one thing that made me mad was DeWitt's statement, 'A Jap is a Jap.' This is one statement that made me boil" (Ishida, 1955: 75-76). Many of the Kibei, who became renunciants, openly protested and fought the government's policy of evacuation and detention.

In January, 1943, Secretary of War Stimson reinstituted the Selective Service for the Japanese Americans and the decision to restore the privilege of military service to the Nisei at the urge of the leadership of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and

the War Relocation Authority (WRA). In February, 1943, the WRA began the registration of all evacuees over seventeen years of age. The registration required answering a loyalty questionnaire and an abbreviated version of the regulatory WRA leave clearance form. The two forms were processed as an application for leave clearance. This registration caused great emotional tension and crisis in some places. It raised issues of major importance in the lives of evacuees: equality of citizenship, the obligation of military service, and Issei status. Although the WRA had anticipated affirmative answers, particularly to the loyalty questions, a marked tendency for negative replies resulted (Ishida, 1955) and, as stated earlier, Tule Lake was designated in July 1943 as a "segregation camp" for "disloyal" evacuees.

Some of the Kibei responded "No-No" to the loyalty questionnaire or in a qualified "Yes-No." Many Kibei were indignant over the abridgment of their citizenship rights, and over the fact that their citizenship did not mean anything, especially since citizens of Italians and German descent were not evacuated or incarcerated. They were intensely hurt because they were sensitive to matters of inequality and discrimination and they signed the questionnaire at a time when they had hardly recovered from the humiliation and the indignity of evacuation and detention. They were confused and angry and afraid of reprisals that may come upon their relatives in Japan.

The militant pro-Japanese groups in the camps, especially in Tule Lake, began to push for a denationalization of their citizenship by sending Washington a number of petitions. In Tule Lake disgruntled Issei and Kibei formed an organization named *Sokuji Kikoku Hoshidan* (Organization to Return Immediately to the Homeland to Serve) or

simply called *Hoshidan.* This organization was directed to those who pledged absolute loyalty to Japan and were willing to serve their mother country. The younger militants organized the *Hokoku Seinendan* (Young Men's Organization to Serve Our Mother Country) or simply *Hokoku.* An organization for young women, *Joshidan*, was organized. The leaders relied mostly on parental authority and social pressure to induce Kibei and Nisei to join. Their activities included study of the Japanese language, history, cultural studies, and physical fitness--all in preparation for their imminent return to Japan. Finally, Congress passed the denationalization bill in July 1944 and thereby paved the way for a mass renunciation by Nikkei of their American citizenship in March 1945.

Most Japanese Americans viewed the militant Kibei as "troublemakers" who were unjustifiably aggressive, recalcitrant, bitter, and resentful at being incarcerated without due process. The Kibei usually stayed together and viewed other evacuees and the American administrators with outright scorn. Although they felt more free in the camps, many of them were in fact misfits, usually found in the middle of conflicts and troubles occurring in the camps.

There was second group of Kibei whose members acted more collaboratively and who chose to be more accommodating. These "men of two cultures" (Kitagawa, 1967:98) often worked quietly and inconspicuously and contributed to the general community welfare. They showed a special interest in making many positive contributions that enriched the American culture and they volunteered to bridge the chasm between the Japanese American community and the rest of American society.

Another important, but often ignored aspect of the Kibei was that they were among the first to volunteer for service when the Army opened its ranks to the Nisei. With the advent of the war, the Kibei provided an invaluable service as instructors in military language and training programs, as interpreters and translators in the Pacific theater, and as psychological warfare specialists (Wilson & Hosokawa, 1980).

While the militant pro-Japanese Kibei often received the most publicity during the wartime evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans, many moderate Kibei concurrently contributed to the furtherance of Japanese American assimilation in the United States.

Marginality

Park (1928) originally described the "marginal man" as the person "who strives to live in two diverse cultural groups" (1928:881), being a stranger to each. He is not at home in his native culture and "not quite accepted because of racial prejudice into the new society in which he sought to find a place" (1928:892). Parks was primarily analyzing the isolation of immigrants during the major social and economic transformations of the turn of the century. Stonequist (1937) extended the concept, stating that marginality was a dissonance producing situation for both the individual and society. However, for Stonequist the personal pressure to resolve the tension ("psychological uncertainty") appeared to manifest itself in a "marginal personality disorder," a psychodynamic construct. The person apparently became disordered in the attempt to assimilate into the dominant or minority groups or to accommodate between

the two. In effect, the marginal person remained on the border, in a static marginal situation that allowed no resolution and conceptually, there were no solutions for the person designated as "marginal."

> People who occupy a marginal status are continually confronted with the necessity of forming moral judgments . . . . Situations that would be routine for other people call for choice, often a choice between different conceptions of what is right . . . . The dilemma confronting a person in a marginal position is that no matter what he does, someone will be displeased. (Shibutani, 1961: 578)

Shibutani's (1961) interactionist view re-defined marginality as a fluid process that would allow the possibility of resolving a dilemma by eventually growing out of the bind (Glasser, 1984). The revised and expanded definitions of marginality still did not include three aspects important to conceptual correctness, clarity, and usefulness. First, although marginality has been described as a social situation, it has always been discussed only in terms of personal consequences. The person who occupied a marginal position was never seen in relation to the larger systemic or societal structure. The social context defined the characterization of the individual and limited the individual's options for resolution. The dilemma has existed as a function of society's inability and possible unwillingness to expand its definitional boundaries in order to include new categories social change has created.

Second, people were inappropriately defined as marginal or being in a marginal position without an analysis of the unequal valuations of both the dominant and minority groups. Kerckhoff and McCormick (1955), as cited by Shibutani (1961), exemplified

both a negativistic view and a lack of recognition of unequal values placed on dominant and minority membership:

> It appears that the only people who do not develop neurotic symptoms are those who attempt to improve their lot by identifying with the higher stratum and rebel when they are rejected. In their study of eighty-four Chippewa children, Kerckhoff & McCormick (1955) measured the degree of identification of each child with modern American culture through questions on their self-conceptions and their acceptance of Indian ideas; they also collected data with personality inventories and judged the extent to which each child resembled traits attributed to marginal man [self-doubt, uncertain friendships, fear of rejection, avoidance rather than risk humiliation, painful self-consciousness, loneliness, excessive worry, and a conviction that they are being treated unjustly: from Park, 1928 and Stonequist, 1937] were most evident among those who identified with the mainstream of American life but were most likely to be rejected because of their "Indian" appearance. (Shibutani, 1966: 577-578)

If the dominant society has been esteemed highly and the minority group has been characterized negatively, due to the minority's acceptance of the dominant social definition leading to self-hatred (Lewin, 1948), aspirations toward the "higher stratum" is a natural choice anyone would select, especially a minority group member (Fanon, 1967; Festinger, 1980), because social improvement represents an escape from the pain of the current picture of self-hate (Glasser, 1984).

Kerckhoff & McCormick (1955) simplistically characterized rejection as occurring *because of* "Indian appearance" rather than citing the negative stereotypes and racism which technically devalues that appearance. The rigid social and economic boundaries of the larger society were not included as factors in their analysis. Marginality as an explanatory concept thereby strengthened the devaluation of minority

group membership by denigrating both appearance and aspiration, and the conceptualization reified the problem by locating it only in the individual.

Third, the temporal and developmental nature of both marginal status and people's experience of marginality has been virtually ignored. Antonovsky (1956) used the marginal man concept in his examination of Jews, explaining that marginality became intensified if the condition persisted through more than one generation. Beyond this reference, marginality was not conceptualized as being a developmental process or as a phase in a larger scheme of development. If marginality and marginal position were reconceptualized developmentally, the transitional nature of the position emerges and may be examined and even resolved in time. What came before and what are the subsequent options? How is marginality affected by historical and maturational processes? Paralleling other developmental schemes, such as could it be seen as an adaptive and positive response offering potential benefits? Further development strides become possible and may be enhanced by an adequate acknowledgment and support of transitions through temporary marginal positions. All of this is consistent too with the underlying premise of the study that all behavior is purposeful and most of it is chosen. Even in the face of victimization, the Nikkei showed a wide range of choices of action from improving one's lot to defiantly swearing loyalty to one's Japanese homeland (Adler, 1924; Powers, 1973).

Although various theorists and researchers have made some attempts at possible reconceptualizations, no one has presented a paradigm that approaches the experience of "marginality" from a developmental viewpoint, stage theory, social theory, and positive

adaptation context. Park's (1928) "marginal man" was potentially more creative than others and being less attached to any particular situation, he was accustomed apparently to considering alternatives. Shibutani (1961) supported this by noting that people who were happily immersed within a single culture were not as likely to make innovations. People who have participated in a variety of groups have allowed themselves to appreciate alternative frameworks and larger perspectives. However, multi-cultural people carry a limitation of being strangers due to actual non-membership in any of the groups they relate to so fluidly yet superficially. Being a de facto outsider, the unique objectivity of the stranger was also the source of an existential marginality and corresponding loneliness (Simmel, 1950, in Gist & Dworkin, 1972: 9).

When characterized as marginal, the Kibei are by definition seen as aspiring for a social recognition they could never have. The reified conceptualization of marginality as "in-between," as peripheral, and as outside has constructed a dangerously negative and rigid portrayal of Kibei. What is needed is a less static developmental view that can allow personal and social recognition of temporary steps toward an adaptive resolution. Experiencing oneself as being Kibei in a social context of negative characterizations can, therefore, be seen both as a dilemma and an opportunity (Glasser, 1984).

Self-Identity

The social-psychological perspective of the development of self-identity reincorporates an integration of various theories and assumptions of personality and credits the influence of familial and social contexts. A major assumption of this view is

that a person dialectically organizes a unifying self over the life-span (Blanck & Blanck, 1974, 1979; Klein, 1976; Levinson, 1979). An individual actively creates meaning out of the contradictions of life in interacting with others and with one's own social beliefs (Fanon, 1967; Giorgi, 1975; Esterson, 1972; Yalom, 1980). This review of the literature on self-identity provides a context for the consideration of the Kibei.

Ego, Self and Identity

Although the concept of "self" has only gradually entered psychoanalytic literature (Shafer, 1968; Levin, 1969; Kohut, 1971; Klein, 1976), it has always been there as "ego" and self has always been an integral component of symbolic interactionist theory (Mead, 1934; Shibutani, 1961). Interactionists defined human relationships as a process of mutually constructed meaning. "Action" is constructed or built up instead of being a mere release (Blumer, in Manis & Meltzer, 1967). As a purist, Shafer (1968) had maintained the psychoanalytic orthodoxy that "self" could only be a vague popular term that confuses more than it explains. However, the increasingly interactionist development of psychoanalytic practice and thinking (Lacan, 1968; Winnicott, 1971; Langs, 1981) has set the stage for a "further 'grade' of personality organization, the 'self'" (Klein, 1976:176).

In a somewhat circuitous vein, the self has been described as the locus of self-experience (Lichtenberg, 1975) and the overall unifying "responsible agent" of personality (Klein, 1976), a dramatic abandonment of Freud's original construct of determinism. Self-psychology has viewed the ego as an *intrapsychic* synthesizing and

organizing function (Blanck & Blanck, 1974) which is under the direction of an integrative self (Klein, 1976).

Levin (1969) has proposed that the self is the "instrument of transformation" between the intrapsychic processes of internalization and identification and the experience of constructing meaning out of one's relationship with others. The active interplay between intrapsychic processes and interpersonal maneuvers is the dialectic through which the self develops and becomes increasingly differentiated (Breger, 1974; Lewis, 1979). However, the self also maintains an "essential sameness in the midst of developmental changes" (Lichtenberg, 1975:454).

What Lichtenstein (1977) referred to as the "dilemma of human identity," of being at once an individual and a part of a group, Klein (1976) synthesized as two interconnected and necessary aspects of the self:

> One is an autonomous unit, distinct from others as a locus of action and decision. The second aspect is one's self construed as a necessary part of a unit transcending one's autonomous actions. "We" identities are part of the "self" (1976:178).

Offering a solution to the criticism that the two aspects of self are "mutually exclusive, i.e., man loses one when he is experiencing the other" (Lichtenstein, 1977:158). Erickson (1947) has stated:

> The conscious feeling of having a *personal identity* is based on two simultaneous observations: The immediate perception of one's self-sameness and continuity in time; and the simultaneous perception of the fact that others recognize one's sameness and continuity (1947:365).

In other words, we cannot not communicate and we cannot not relate.

The simultaneity of self and other, of the "autonomous and affiliate aspects of selfhood" (Klein, 1976:180) is inseparable. The mutuality of self and recognition of others form the heart of the developmental construction of *identity* in this model. The self's effort to achieve and preserve unity is the service of preserving identity. However, integrating a unified sense of identity is based on a passage through developmental changes, crises, and transformations. Resolutions of incompatibilities such as dissonances, conflicts, and dilemmas confront the individual with multiple choices of solutions: a passive suppression or assimilation of the incompatibilities or an active restructuring that creatively accommodates and integrates the new. Both of these responses are necessary options. Both contribute to the maintenance of self unity; the first by preserving unity by limiting function due to dissociation of the challenge, and the second by actively restructuring (what Klein [1976] calls "active reversal") the dilemma. In this process, the person actively makes sense of it by a self-initiated repetition and reconstruction. Such initiative transforms the experience of "it controls me" to "I control it" (Klein, 1976:269). By regenerating and reorganizing experience, active restructuring can lead to new positive identifications, to re-incorporation of previously denied or split-off aspects, and to an increased differentiation. These decisions enlarge the sense of self.

The *self*, as the agent of resolution, and *identity*, as the result of mutual self-other recognition, are concepts which "reflect the growth aspects for solutions rather than the regression-promoting aspects" (Klein, 1976:200). As a result, the self-psychological framework presented here allows an "enlarged region of differentiation" in treating the

self-identity of the Kibei Nisei because the theory puts this relatively powerless and victimized group in a position of power and choice.

Summary

In summary, the review of the literature has given a brief overview of traditional Japanese values and beliefs as a background to the development of the Japanese American experience. The values and beliefs that persist and shape the collective life of the Japanese are founded on family and collectivity, the hierarchical nature of relationships, duty and obligation as guiding ethos, deference to authority, and dependency on the group. These values and beliefs have strongly affected the personality and behavior of the Japanese in all aspects of their way of life.

The review of the Japanese American experience amplifies the effect of traditional Japanese values and behavior in the lives of the Issei and Nisei. Japanese Americans endured the hardships imposed by American racism either because of their sense of resignation or their deference to authority. The Japanese Americans were forced into evacuation and incarceration even in the face of this deference. The assimilation and acculturation process continues in the Sansei and Yonsei, and though certain Japanese values persist, a growing consciousness of the past injustices to Nikkei has helped them raise their awareness of a need for more political and social activism.

In the light of the Japanese American experience and within the context of mainstream America, the Kibei have encountered many difficulties and conflicts. They were often alienated socially and psychologically from mainstream America and

simultaneously rejected by their own Japanese American community as displaying their Japanese style of life too prominently. They were often perceived as a "minority within a minority." Their sense of an untenable status personally and socially was exacerbated because of the perceived lack of English skills. Yet, in the face of all these realities, they played a unique role, both positive and negative, in the Japanese American world.

The reviews on Marginality and Self-Identity reveal that marginality as a potentially useful concept and construct invalidates minority groups and does not provide positive solutions. Traditional psychoanalytic theory supports the invalidation process by assuming that intrapsychic forces have no social or interactional relationship.

Development, adaptation, and active mastery have not heretofore been components of a social and psychological framework for the study of a minority group such as the Kibei.

Participatory research is one of the current methodologies used to integrate a social and psychological framework to study participants' life experiences from their own perspectives. One of the values of this research method lies in its emphasis on empowering all research subjects. For this reason, it is a very effective approach to conduct studies among groups of people who have been consistently oppressed and voiceless in society (Freire, 1981). Thus, this collaborative research gives speech to the "unheard voices" of the Kibei.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this study the researcher used the participatory research model based on the theories of Paulo Freire who defined epistemology as a "dialectical movement which goes from action to reflection and from reflection upon action to a new action" (1970:213). He stressed that "true dialogue unites subjects together in the cognition of a knowable object which mediates between them" (1970:212). This Glasser speaks of as sharing common quality world pictures (Glasser, 1990). The qualitative research model uses the process of dialogues between a researcher and participants, who are continually invited to express their own life experiences, reflect upon them, reflect and interpret them, and find meanings through their own perspectives. Freire (1981:133) further states that "dialogue, as the encounter among men to name the world, is a fundamental precondition for their true humanization." Only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking, a view consistent with Piaget's concept that in our interactions with our environment, we co-create our own intelligence (Piaget, 1950). "Without dialogue there is no communication, and without communication there can be no true education" (Freire: 1981:81).

The participants in this study are seven Kibei Nisei men, between the ages of 72 and 84. By Freire's participatory problem-posing process through the use of a series of dialogues, these Kibei men have become genuine partners of the researcher, actively and critically reflecting upon their own experiences, and joining hands with the researcher to

address their own issues. Thus, they engaged in "authentic transformation of reality . . ." (Freire, 1981:185).

The Theoretical Rationale Underlying the Research

The rationale for this research was based on Freire's theories of participatory pedagogy (1970, 1973, 1984, and Ada & Freire, 1989) and Kieffer's approach to pedagogy (1981). Participatory research, called dialogic retrospection by Kieffer, is characterized as:

> Participatory by virtue of its inclusion of its subjects as active partners throughout the research process. They are involved in preliminary research design, in interactive generation of data, and in dialogic interpretation of the data as generated. (Kieffer, 1981:3)

The most important feature of this strategy, as Kieffer (1981) points out, is that "its participants are engaged in personally meaningful critical reflections upon individual growth experiences. Participation in the research then has realistic consequence in their continuing personal development" (p. 3).

Participatory research ". . . would lead to community action. Something would be involving the participants or learners into taking ownership of their own reality by studying it" (Ada & Freire, 1989:2). Participants in the research are thus not only invited to be part of the study, but are also given the opportunity to reflect upon their own experience, which can further their critical consciousness. This experience, Freire stressed (1981), is a process through which, " . . men develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves" (p. 70-71).

Therefore, the researcher used participatory research methods in this study to reach the goal of serving as a voice for the Kibei Nisei men and empowering them to initiate the transformation of their early life experiences.

The Role of Critical Consciousness

Critical consciousness is the major theme in the theories of Paulo Freire (1970, 1973, 1981) defined by Freire (1973) as a process that distinguishes human beings from animals. "Men relate to their world in a critical way. They apprehend the objective data of their reality . . . through reflection, not by reflex, as do animals. In the act of critical perception, men discover their own temporality" (Freire, 1973:3), and by discovering temporality, human beings can free themselves from "today" and integrate themselves into their context. Thus they will be able to adapt themselves to reality and have the critical capacity "to make choices and to transform that reality" (ibid: 4). In this way human beings can become subjects and masters of their own destiny.

Freire (1981) further stresses the role of critical consciousness in the fulfillment of humanization of the oppressed.

> To no longer be prey to its force, one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it . . . . To achieve this goal, the oppressed must confront reality critically, simultaneously objectifying and acting upon that reality (ibid: 36-37).

Therefore, according to Freire (1981), through critical reflection upon reality, the oppressed can discover the very condition of their existence and be aware of the challenge to their humanity as the result of dehumanizing efforts by an oppressor. With

their emerged critical consciousness, the oppressed will commit themselves to an action in the transformation of reality and the recovery of their full humanity.

Freire (1970) points out the role of education in helping the oppressed to know and be critically aware of their own condition and existence. "The educator's role is to propose problems about the codified existential situations in order to help the learners arrive at a more and more critical view of their reality" (ibid, 1970:217). Authentic dialogue between the teachers and learners is the basic principle for achieving the act of knowing, which "involves a dialectical movement which goes from action to reflection and from reflection upon action to a new action" (Freire, 1970:213). In doing so the oppressed will be able to liberate themselves from a dehumanizing reality and develop a new awareness of their rights and capacity as human beings to transform reality through new action.

Abiding by Freire's theories of critical consciousness, the researcher in this study will devote himself to the development of the participants' critical awareness of the reality through authentic dialogues between researcher and the participants and to the transformation of reality.

The Role of Participatory Research

Maguire (1987) defines participatory research as a combination of three activities: investigation, education, and action.

> It is a method of social investigation of problems, involving participation of oppressed and ordinary people in problem posing and solving. It is an educational process for the researcher and the participants, who analyze the structural causes of named problems through collective discussion and

> interaction. Finally, it is a way for researchers and oppressed people to join in solidarity to take collective action, both short and long term, for radical change (ibid: 29).

According to Maguire (1987), the goal of participatory research lies in human self-determination, liberation, and personal and social transformation. This goal will be reached by sharing power in the relationship of the researcher and the participants, which ". . . improves the possibility of jointly creating a more critical understanding of a given reality" (ibid: 38) and radically changes the reality.

Kieffer (1981) points out the empowering outcomes of the participatory research model. According to Kieffer (1981), the participants, through the empowerment in the research relationship, will develop a more positive and potent sense of self, critically view their own experienced environment, and attain their personal and collective sociopolitical goals.

The research approach leads to three types of change: "development of critical consciousness of both researcher and participants; improvement of the lives of those involved in the research process; and transformation of fundamental societal structures and relationships" (Maguire, 1987: 29).

In this study the Kibei men were invited to participate in sharing their life experiences one to one with the researcher through the dialogic process. ". . . These participants were or could be made critically conscious of their life world through the dialogic process" (Janssens, 1987:87). With their critical consciousness they would be able to reflect upon their own experiences and attempt to find ways to change reality.

The Role of the Researcher

According to Janssens (1987), the role of the researcher should be a developer of critical awareness in the participants through the dialogic process. The researcher should share his power with the participants in the research by becoming a genuine co-participant and by learning from the Kibei, for example, so that in this way the participants define their reality and if they wish, choose to act (ibid: 88).

Ada and Freire (1989) point out that as educators, we have the duty to challenge human beings to assume the power of thinking critically (ibid: 21). The researcher should pose problems that are related to the participants in their life world and challenge the participants to respond to those problems, and thus "the students--no longer docile listeners--are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher" (Freire, 1981: 68). In this research, the researcher kept in mind the role of the researcher and challenged the participants to think critically together with the researcher through the dialogic process and to adopt a critical attitude toward their own experiences. The researcher acted as a guide, not an authority, in the research process and was willing and open to learn from the participants.

Process for Data Collection

Based on the rationale underlying this research through dialogic retrospection, the researcher took the following steps to collect the data:

1. Contacting the participants
2. Developing the research questions
3. Conducting the initial dialogue sessions

4. Reviewing the initial dialogue sessions
5. Conducting the follow-up dialogue sessions based on the findings of the initial dialogue session
6. Conducting a final analysis of the data.

Contacting the Participants

The participants in this study are composed of seven Kibei Nisei men, who are all presently retired and ranging in age from 72 to 84. Six of them live in the Bay Area and one lives in Salt Lake City, Utah. Two of these men are relatives of the researcher. All are members of a local Buddhist temple affiliated with the Buddhist Churches of America.

The researcher initially contacted each of these participants by telephone. The two relatives of the researcher were first informed briefly of the nature and purpose of the study and though they were originally hesitant, they gave their permission for the interviews when informed of the nature of the study. An appointment for the first formal interview was then arranged with each of the relatives.

The other five participants were sought and contacted through the researcher's involvement with the local Bay Area Buddhist temples. Each of the five participants are active members of their respective temples and they too were initially contacted by telephone. After the researcher introduced himself, he briefly informed them of the nature and purpose of the study and they too were initially hesitant, but they gave their permission to be interviewed. The researcher arranged for a first interview appointment. The fact that the researcher is a Buddhist priest active in the local Nikkei circle, and that

the participants were familiar with him, contributed to an easier access to their support and cooperation.

In the initial telephone conversation with each participant, the researcher explained the characteristics of the participatory research model used for this study. They would be the active partners of the researcher; in other words, they are subjects in the study who will do the research together with the researcher as co-investigators and collaborators instead of objects who are passively waiting to be studied and analyzed. They would be able to reflect upon their own experiences and find the way to transform their reality.

To talk about their lives prior to World War II and during the War may not be pleasant as it may bring back painful memories from their past, but the researcher indicated that their participation could enrich the lives of their families and especially add to the richness of the Japanese American experience in the United States. The documentation of their struggle, perseverance, and success will greatly add to a transformation of reality and lead to the creation of a better life for themselves and for their families. Their shared experiences may also better the lives of ethnic minority groups and inspire others who are struggling to find their place in the United States.

The researcher kept all of this in mind while contacting the participants and attempted to bring about the best result from this study with assistance and collaboration from the participants.

Developing the Research Questions to Guide the Dialogue

One characteristic of participatory research is that it offers the participants the possibility to engage actively in the problem-posing and problem-solving approach with the researcher through the dialogues between the researcher and the participants. Questions were initially developed to guide the dialogues in order to gain a more complete picture of the Kibei experience.

Following the theories of Paulo Freire (1973; 1981), the researcher developed questions that addressed the naming of the participants' world, reflecting upon it and finally transforming it. To reach this goal the questions raised to guide the dialogues were open-ended and generated new questions in the process of the dialogues.

The researcher initiated some questions in order to address the following research questions:

1. Life Experiences in Japan Prior to World War II
   - -- What were your thoughts and feelings of being raised and educated in Japan?
   - -- How was your relationship with your family and relatives?
   - -- How was your relationship with your peers?
   - -- What are the values and beliefs you gained in Japan?

2. Life Experiences in the United States Prior to World War II
   - -- What was it like to return to the United States?
   - -- How was your relationship with your family and relatives?
   - -- Did you continue your education or go to work?
   - -- Did you experience any significant difficulties after returning to the United States?

3. Life Experiences During World War II
   -- What are your personal feelings and thoughts about World War II?
   -- Were you closely identified with the Japanese cause or the American cause?
   -- How do you feel about the incarceration of the Japanese Americans in the concentration camps?

4. Life Experiences in Post World War II
   -- What are your thoughts and feelings about your life since the end of World War II:
   -- Did you achieve any personal goals you cherished before the war?
   -- How has your life changed since the end of the war?

In answering and discussing each question the participants created the text that the researcher later analyzed.

General Description of the Research Participants

The seven Kibei Nisei men, who participated in this study, range in age from 72 to 84, born between 1909 and 1921. Six of these men were born in California, and one was born in Utah. All of these men are retired. They are all members and participants of their local Buddhist temple; in order to protect their anonymity, each of them was given a fictitious name. The suffix *"san"* is used in Japanese to address a person respectfully and has been included with each fictitious name. Their personal histories are real.

Oka-san is a seventy-two year old retired gardener living presently in San Rafael, California. He was born in Watsonville, California, in November 1921. He is the third child of five children. His parents were farming in the Menlo Park area, growing primarily strawberries and vegetables. His father, however, died in 1925 and his mother

then took the five children back to Yanai in Yamaguchi prefecture in Japan. The children went to live with various relatives. He and his older brother and sister stayed at the main house and were raised by his grandmother and aunt; his mother returned to the United States soon after the children were settled.

He worked and helped on the family farm planting and harvesting rice while he was in Japan and he also received a formal Japanese education culminating with graduation from high school. A strong militaristic and nationalistic curriculum and training was included in high school. He wanted to further his education after high school, but he returned to the United States in 1939 at the age of eighteen because he failed the entrance examinations to the technical institute he had wanted to enter.

He stayed with his mother while attending night school to learn English and he encountered prejudice and discrimination from both Caucasians and Japanese Americans. When the war broke out in 1941 he felt caught between Japan and America; but his loyalty was clearly to Japan.

He was initially evacuated to the Topaz, Utah, concentration camp and then shifted to Tule Lake, California, concentration camp. He was personally loyal to Japan and during his stay in Tule Lake indicated this loyalty as a member of the pro-Japan, *Sokuji Kikoku Hoshidan*. When the war ended, however, he abandoned his loyalty to Japan completely.

After the war, he worked in Seabrook, New Jersey, before returning to San Francisco at his mother's request. He initially married a Nisei woman in 1947, but she died nine months later from a serious illness. Upon his return to California he first

worked at Simmons Mattress Company but gravitated towards gardening in Marin County. In March of 1958 he married for the second time and he and his wife had two children, both boys. He is an active member of the Buddhist temple in Marin. Sadly, his wife was killed in an auto accident in April 1991.

Oda-san is a seventy-four year old retired gardener, born in San Jose, California, in May 1919, the youngest of three children. When he was two years old his mother died at age 27, and he and his sister, then four, were sent to Japan to be raised by his grandmother in Fukuoka prefecture. His father continued farming in San Jose and kept his six year old brother with him.

His childhood in Japan was economically comfortable; he never had to work. He received all of his formal education in Japan from grammar school through high school. After graduating from high school in 1937 at the age of 18, he returned to the United States at his grandmother's urging to rejoin his father who was seriously ill and reported to be dying. He reluctantly returned to the United States and met his father for the first time.

In America, he assisted his sister who had returned the previous year to care for his father. His father required him to go to work in order to be self-supporting. His first job was in a packing house, but soon he worked as a school boy while attending City College in San Francisco. There he encountered racial discrimination and slurs for the first time; his social life was confined mainly to a small circle of other Kibei men.

In March 1941, while attending City College, he was drafted into the U.S. Army and went to Camp Roberts in California. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor on

December 7, 1941, he was transferred to Fort Sam Houston in Texas and then to Fort Snelling in Oklahoma. From Oklahoma he was recruited to attend the Military Intelligence Language School at Fort Savage in Minnesota and soon after his arrival, his conflict with the authorities came to a head and he was transferred to Fort Leonard Wood in Missouri. There he expressed his deep frustrations in a protest letter to President Franklin Roosevelt for what he deemed to be unfair treatment in the armed service. Six other Kibei soldiers co-signed the letter and as a consequence, all were court-martialed for insubordination and sentenced to 15 years of hard labor at Leavenworth Penitentiary in Kansas. After serving two and a half years, the war ended and they were all given dishonorable discharges from the army.

After the war, he returned to California and he married a Nisei bride on April 27, 1947; forty-one years later his wife died on that same date in 1988. They had 3 children--one son and two daughters. After the war, he joined his in-laws on their ranch in San Jose and worked in farming. After their deaths, he shifted to landscape gardening and he still works part-time at gardening during the week. He is an active member of the San Jose Buddhist temple.

Wada-san is a seventy-six year old retired executive with a Japanese food company in the Bay Area. The oldest of three children, he was born in San Francisco in 1916 and went to Japan with his grandfather in 1918 at the age of six. There he attended grammar school, high school and college. His parents returned to Japan while he was still in school, but his father died before he completed his education. In 1934 at the age

of eighteen, he returned to San Francisco in order to avoid the Japanese military draft. He returned to California on his own with no relatives waiting to greet him.

When the war started he went to work for the government in the Department of Justice, Naturalization and Immigration division. He originally worked on the East Coast, but eventually was assigned to Tule Lake to work with the Japanese who renounced their citizenship in hopes of returning to Japan after the war.

He returned to San Francisco after the war and successfully developed a Japanese food business with which he is still involved today. He is actively involved with his Buddhist temple and with various community organizations that promote Japanese American activities.

He is married and has two children.

Hayashi-san is a seventy-eight year old retired gardener living in Berkeley, California. He was born in June 1914 at Fullerton, California, where his parents both farmed in Orange County. But in 1918 his mother became seriously ill and returned to Fukuoka, Japan, with her three children. In June of that same year, his mother died at the age of 33 and he remained in Japan with his older brother and sister under the care of their grandparents. His father did not return to Japan at that time, but did go back in 1920 and married his deceased wife's younger sister. His father moved back to the United States with his new wife and never again set foot on Japanese soil. *Hayashi-san* remained in Japan until 1929, separated from his brother and sister who were raised by relatives. His father and step-mother (initially his aunt) had three more children who were also sent back to Japan to live with relatives.

Hayashi-san lived in Japan for 11 years, working on his uncle's farm, harvesting and planting rice and doing other chores. He attended school until mid-way through the eighth grade, but had to quit in order to help with work on the farm. Before he returned to the United States in 1929, he was given other adult responsibilities in helping to care for his grandparents and representing his father at formal occasions such as funerals.

In 1929, he returned to Southern California to live with his father and step-mother and helped them with farming for two years. Because of conflicts with his step-mother, he chose to move in 1931 to Irvington in the Fremont area to live and work with his uncle. He met his future wife and her family in Fremont and in 1937 he returned to the Los Angeles area to help out his parents because his older brother had become ill. He stayed and worked there until March 1941 when he was drafted into the armed service.

He was initially assigned to Camp Roberts in California and then transferred to Fort Sam Houston in Texas in March 1942. He served the duration of the war at Fort Sam Houston, working in the motor pool as a driver. He was married in 1944 while he was serving in the armed service. He and his wife have two children, a boy and girl.

After the war, he and his family returned to the Bay Area and settled in Berkeley where he and his wife presently reside. He is active in his retirement and is a member of the Berkeley Buddhist temple.

Suda-san is a seventy-eight year old retired furniture upholsterer who was born in Courtland, California, in September 1914. He grew up in Lodi where his parents were farming at that time. He is the third of six children--an older brother and sister, himself, and two younger sisters and a brother. He attended grammar school in Lodi until the age

of 10. His parents returned to Japan with five of their children in the summer of 1924 after his father was diagnosed with terminal cancer. His older married brother remained in California and took over the farming work for his father. The rest of the family returned to his father's home in Hiroshima, but his father died in November 1924 while seeking further treatment in Kyushu. His mother died two years later and relatives then raised him and four of his siblings. He attended grammar school in Japan and in 1928 he and his younger brother returned to the United States to join his older brother and wife.

He was attending school and working when the great Depression of 1929 hit the United States, forcing him to quit school and go to work for his brother during the grape season in Lodi. He also worked for others during the off season and in 1937, at the age of 23, he went to Japan to meet his wife in a marriage arranged through his relatives. He was married in Hiroshima in 1937 and he and his wife settled in Lodi and farmed together until the war started. His first two children, boys, were born in Lodi.

With the advent of the war, he and his family were initially evacuated to the Rohwer camp in Arkansas, but relocated after a year to the Tule Lake concentration camp in California. They remained at Tule Lake until the end of the war.

In February 1946, they settled in San Francisco where his youngest son and daughter were born in 1947 and 1948 respectively. He worked a full career as a furniture upholsterer for Simmons Mattress Company from which he retired in 1979.

Shima-san is a seventy-nine year old retired accountant, living in Salt Lake City, Utah. He was born in 1913 in West Weber, Utah.

His father was working in the coal mines at the time of his birth. In 1923, he and his brother were sent to Japan to be educated; he was ten years old. His parents were planning to return home after they were more financially solvent. Meantime, he was raised by his uncle and other relatives until his mother and two sisters returned to Japan. He attended school and graduated from a commercial high school. He was planning to go to work for an insurance company in Osaka and play baseball for them as well. However, his mother strongly urged him to join his father in Utah to earn financial support for her and his sisters in Japan. He dutifully followed his mother's request and at age 19 joined his father in 1932.

He worked in the coal mines in Utah with his father and brother and during the off season he worked as a farm laborer in Northern California. In 1936, he and his brother moved to Salt Lake City where he began working as a bookkeeper and accountant for a large Japanese laundry. He was also actively involved in the Japanese Buddhist circle and in their sports program, especially in baseball. During the war when the Issei were incarcerated, he took over the management of the laundry. He and his wife were not incarcerated as were others in Utah.

Shima-san is married with three children and several grandchildren. He continues to be actively involved with the Buddhist temple in Salt Lake City and has been an active member of the board of the Buddhist Churches of America. He also is an avid bridge player and golfer.

Fujimoto-san is a eighty-three year old retired business man. He was born in Berkeley in 1909 where he attended elementary school until the age of 10. His father

died while he was in school and so he was sent to live and attend school in Japan. He graduated from high school in Japan and after his return to the United States, he completed his high school education again, this time at Berkeley High. After graduation, he attended Armstrong Business School and graduated in 1932.

He worked as an insurance agent and a sales representative for a kitchen supply company. He was also highly active in the Japanese American community. He served as a Sunday School teacher and as president of the North American Young Buddhist Association in his early adulthood. He was also active in the Japanese Association before World War II.

During the war he was drafted to do intelligence work for the U.S. government and after the war he continued to be active in the Japanese American community, holding numerous positions of leadership. He is married and has four children and grandchildren.

Conducting the Initial Dialogue Sessions

In order to answer the research questions and reach the goal of this study, the researcher engaged the participants in reflective dialogues. The initial dialogue session, as well as all the interaction between the researcher and the participants, took place in English, Japanese or a mixture of both in order to provide for full communication. The meeting was scheduled at the convenience of the participants and took place in a mutually agreed place, preferably a place suggested by the participants where they would feel relaxed following Kieffer (1981:29) who stated that ". . . More relaxed settings promoted feelings of comfort and security. . . ."

The length of the initial dialogue session with each participant was generally about an hour and a half and the dialogues were recorded on audio cassette tapes. The researcher allowed a period of at least fifteen minutes for the researcher to introduce himself again and for the participants to talk about themselves before the discussion of any research questions. According to Kieffer (1981), this warm-up period will give the opportunity to the researcher to reiterate the objectives and concerns of the researcher, to describe his or her personal history and professional commitments, and to establish the tone of self-revelation, comfort, mutual trust, and informality, which might carry over into the participant's retrospection (ibid: 28).

The researcher kept in mind that "the interview is an interpersonal relationship--however constrained--and that that relationship must be cultivated to succeed" (Kieffer, 1981:27). Therefore, the dialogue interviews were conducted in a very flexible, open-ended, and conversational style as two friends exchange ideas and opinion with love, humility, faith, hope, and critical thinking (Freire, 1981). The dialogues were kept simple, personal, colloquial, and direct. In the process of this initial dialogic interaction, the researcher gained more meaningful participation and significant results than in a more formal or distant context.

Reviewing the Initial Dialogue Sessions

Each of the initial dialogues with the participants were transcribed verbatim from the audio tapes. The transcriptions of the initial dialogues as well as questions arising from the initial dialogue sessions were then given to the participants. The participants

were allowed to reflect upon and to respond to the full transcripts of their own interviews in order to make any corrections or additions as well as to bring up new questions, concerns, or information, which "fosters more accurate retrospection and self-validation of emergent interpretation" (Kieffer, 1981:14). The participants were informed that "their response would constitute the primary basis for a follow-up dialogue . . ." (Kieffer, 1981:31) and "their suggested alterations would be incorporated in the final analysis, so that they truly saw themselves as partners in the research effort, rather than as objects . . ." (Janssens, 1987:104).

The researcher read and analyzed the returned transcripts from the participants and looked for topics that might need further clarification or expansion as well as for inconsistencies or contradictions. Based on the reflections upon and response to the transcriptions from the participants, the researcher devised questions to guide the follow-up dialogue sessions.

Conducting the Follow-up Dialogue Sessions

The follow-up dialogue sessions were conducted in a similar manner to the initial dialogue sessions. In the process of the follow-up dialogue sessions, however, the researcher kept in mind that the follow-up dialogue interview should explicitly provide participants with an opportunity to present their own reactions to and interpretations of their first dialogues with the researcher. Given the encouragement to reflect self-critically on their own to the transcripts, the participants would be able to speak more intimately and effectively to all the issues raised by the researcher based on the initial

dialogue interviews (Kieffer, 1981:36). In allowing the participants to reflect and comment upon the data generated from the initial dialogue sessions, the follow-up process fostered some new learning for both the researcher and the participants.

In the follow-up meeting an agreement was made with some of the broader themes emerging from the data. If there is agreement, it will help to stress some of the previous observations and interpretations developed by the researcher. If there is not agreement, it will indicate a need for further refinement in the analysis (Janssens, 1987:105-106).

Final Analysis of the Data

To reach the goal of this study, the researcher took the following steps to do the final analysis of the data.

After the follow-up dialogue sessions were completed, all the follow-up dialogues were transcribed in the same way as the initial dialogue sessions. The text generated in both initial and follow-up dialogue sessions was analyzed and summarized based on the theory of Freire's generative themes (Freire, 1973). The transcriptions were reformulated and organized into meaningfully-related statements without any changes of the essential views of the participants.

The researcher interpreted and identified the meanings of statements to search for answers to the research questions as well as for generative themes (Freire, 1973) brought up by the participants. The researcher reflected upon the generalized statements that came out of the analysis and sought for a critical reaction to reality.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS OF THE DIALOGUE SESSIONS

This study based on Freire's participatory research model, used a dialogic process between the researcher and the participants, to define the self-identity of the Kibei Nisei men by their memory of their perception of their life prior to World War II in both Japan and the United States, during World War II, and after World War II. The main purposes of the study were to help the Kibei men become consciously aware of their unique lives as persons of two opposing cultures, to invite them to voice the struggles and hardships of living in two cultures, and to empower them to clarify their reality through active participation in this study.

The questions were prepared and discussed on the basis of the theory of Freire's dialogic process in which the participants were to go through three stages: naming their world, reflecting upon it, and finally, suggesting actions to change that world. Key questions were devised and discussed in the interviews to elicit information by answering the research questions. The dialogue was conducted in a friendly, open and nonstructured manner to stimulate spontaneity on the part of the participants. This approach was used to insure that the participants would select for discourse the events in their lives that were meaningful to them and which they felt comfortable sharing with the researcher.

This chapter discusses, through the voices of the participants, the death of a parent or parents and education as a reason for going to Japan. In most cases, the consequences

of the death of a parent or parents were typically separation from a surviving parent. Such a loss would naturally lead to feelings of anger and resentment, abandonment and rejection, deep loneliness and sadness. Most reported being teased at times by their school mates for being parentless. Education was another reason for going to Japan even though all the older children initially had difficulty with the Japanese language. They soon managed to overcome their language problems. *Shushin* as instructions for correctness in daily living was also taught. Schooling in *Shushin* reinforced ethical correctness in terms of respect for elders and others as a way of showing self-respect. Life with their families and relatives was not always positive; at times, such living conditions created added hardships and struggles. Living with a grandparent or grandparents seemed to be the most rewarding relationship of all the living arrangements with relatives.

Pre-World War II: Life in Japan

Reasons for Going to Japan

Death of a Parent.

The death of a parent is a classic form of family disruption, universally regarded as an untimely and tragic event. Death permanently severs the bond between parent and child, disrupting forever one of the child's earliest and deepest human attachments. It also deprives a child of the presence and protection of an adult who has a biological stake in the child's survival, as well as an emotional commitment to his or her well-being. In short, the death of a parent is the most extreme and severe loss a child can suffer.

The theme of the death of a parent emerged strongly from reviewing the first dialogue sessions of five of the seven participants: *Oda-san, Hayashi-san, Oka-san, Suda-san, and Fujimoto-san.* The psychological and emotional, economic and social fabric of the family of these five participants were greatly affected by the death of a parent or a dying parent. This loss disrupted their lives and forced the family to return to Japan. The surviving parent could not financially support a growing family alone. The return to their homes in Japan gave them the emotional and economic support of their respective family and relatives. The children were then raised and educated by their extended families of relatives while the surviving parent often returned to the United States soon afterwards in order to continue working and providing further financial assistance for the children. While the basic survival needs of the children were taken care of, the separation significantly affected the participants' psychological and emotional lives.

Oda-san, the retired seventy-four year old gardener, indicated that his father used to farm in Stockton and Dos Palos, but went to San Jose to farm because the weather was better for his mother's physical condition. He comments:

> The reason . . . when I was two years old, my mother died. I was two and my sister was four and my brother was six. So my father kept my older brother, *sabishii kara* (because it was lonely). Sister and me grandma *ni okurareta wake yo* (my sister and me were sent to my grandma).

His mother was only 27 years old when she died, leaving his father with full responsibility to raise his three children alone. However, he drew on the support of his family at home in Fukuoka, Japan and sent *Oda-san* and his sister to be raised by his

grandmother, uncle and aunt. His older brother, perhaps as was customary for the *chonan* (the eldest son), remained with his father, and helped ease the loneliness and sadness of his mother's death.

Hayashi-san, the seventy-eight year old retired gardener, was living in Fullerton with his parents and siblings. His mother became ill and returned to Japan with him and his older brother and sister. He was four years old at that time.

> My parents was there (in Fullerton) and then, in 1918, my mother got sick so she took three children to Japan. She went back to Japan then. I don't know when, but, anyway, she passed away June 6, 1918. We grow up with my grandparents. (Father) stayed here. Yes. He was here.

After his mother died at age thirty-three years, he lived with his grandparents at the family home in Kyushu, Japan while is brother and sister lived with other relatives. His father then married his mother's younger sister, his aunt, in 1920. They then returned to the United States where he continued farming. They had three children of their own and those three youngsters were eventually sent to Japan to live with relatives as the children from the first family constellation had done. While in Japan, his grandfather died followed by his grandmother's death in 1927. For six months after her death, he was entrusted with the responsibility of caring for his three step-siblings and his own sister who had also joined them. He recalls his feeling:

> Why do I have to do this all by myself? My parents aren't here. Even when my grandparents passed away, my father never came back. Then when my grandmother was sick, he never came back. All the work I had to do myself. Even when someone passed away I had to go to funeral for my parents.

His sense of anger and resentment was rationalized soon after the above comment, "At that time I was kind of upset, but now it was maybe a good experience to me." Yet when he was asked further about his feeling towards his father, he seemed to blurt:

> Well, even now *demo* (however), my father [is] exactly not good to me. One time I ask, this was when I was young, I like to buy Japanese books, so I asked for money. He gave me only a couple of dollars. I got one book and one Japanese record. Oh, he was upset you know. [I said,] "*Booku ga attayo.*" (There was this book.) *Soshitara* (then) father says, *"Sonna booku yon demo jibun no tame ni naran. Shinbun o yomi nasai. Motto benkyo ni narukara."* (That book won't be of any benefit to you. Read the newspaper. You'll learn more from it.) Oh, makes me kind of upset, but I didn't say anything.

Although this was an incident that took place later when he was reunited with his father in the United States, the detailed memory of this encounter reflects the anger and resentment towards his father which was nurtured during their separation because he had a picture in his mind of being reunited with his father and his need was not matched in reality. This discrepancy is always painful (Glasser, 1984).

Oka-san, who is a seventy-two year old retired gardener, was living with his parents and siblings in Menlo Park before he went to Japan. His father was farming on land which he held in partnership with a Caucasian man named Webb. He died, however, from undetected complications from an automobile accident which happened nearly a year before his death. Oka-san remarks:

> He was young. He died by accident. He had insurance, but he . . . after the autopsy, they found he died by the accident causing one year before. He got hit by the machine (automobile) on the chest. So that made him suffer inside infection one year later. So he died. My mother collected double indemnity . . . . We were pretty fortunate.

He spoke with a sense of pride that his father was able to provide financially for the family because he had purchased insurance. This enabled his mother to stop farming and soon after his death she returned to Japan with her children. He says,

> After my father died, my mother took five kids to Japan. Most likely right away. Something like that. One month or two months later. Then we're raised by all the relatives. But there're so many kids so we're separated into three different sections. Older sister and me and older brother were big enough to stay in the family house. We had farm, rice field and everything else. Yeah, we had everything.

The family house belonged to his father since he was the eldest son and after his father died, his mother inherited the property. Conflict seemed to have risen soon after with the relatives. His mother then returned to the United States leaving the children with relatives. *Oka-san* remarks:

> My mother just came back to the States. Yeah. Well, I guess that she was not too fond of the children or something. She, I guess, had enough money to taking care of the children, land, rice field and everything else. And big house too. But some way she came back to the States and she does domestic [work] then that keeps on supporting her. We, three kids, stay in the main house. Then the younger one [sister], let's see, just three to four months old, and the younger brother went to another auntie's house. So we're raised in different sections.

He speaks further with sadness:

> She didn't stay too long, because a lot of things among relatives got a lot of trouble. Taking over the money and then on top of that, she doesn't want to care of the kids. She just left. Some way, we're raised by somebody else so I never had a mother's love or parents' love. Sort of, we're raised by ourselves.

He sadly voices a sense of abandonment and rejection and a fundamental lack of bonding with either parents. Although he lived with his grandmother and aunt, they never compensated for his feeling of being abandoned by his parents. He comments:

> Grandmother was alive. Then we had an auntie who divorced and came back to the main house. She was taking care of us for a while. Before that some hired hand. I never . . . like my younger sister never knowed my mother. Huh! She left us!

His bitterness now seemed to be expressing itself more readily. The sense of emotional indictment and emotional rejection of his mother came as he spoke of his younger sister returning to the United States after the War:

> Until war's over she (younger sister) came back. Then my mother claim herself [to be] mother, but, I guess, she got no right to say that. (laughter). I'm the same thing. When I came back, my mother trying to claim mother's rights, but I don't care then . . . . Not close.

This statement indicates *Oka-san*'s judgment of his mother's failure as a mother and parent, and the lack of bonding and intimacy between he and his mother. His intellectualization still cannot remove the unrequited wish for the bonding and intimacy between he and his mother. He did not receive a most basic and powerful need for love and belonging (Glasser, 1984).

Suda-san is a seventy-eight year old retired furniture upholsterer, who was living with his parents and siblings in the San Joaquin delta near Walnut Grove prior to his family's return to Japan. His father was the foreman on a grape ranch, managing a crew of Japanese laborers during the harvest season. His mother's job was to cook and feed the crew. He recalls:

> Oh, he was a good, hard working man, my old man. She was a pretty good cook. I really respected my parents. I think they both had a lot of courage and energy to come to America, especially in their time. I think my father, especially, had a lot of guts.

His affection for his father is also expressed as he recalls his childhood:

> Oh, yes! One thing I remember was that on weekends, my father, his friends, and us went to the nearby river to catch black bass and catfish. That was in the 1920's when there were no pollution.

His childhood in the Lodi area, before going to Japan, was, as he said, ". . . no problem. Just like easy going days."

But the events in his family changed dramatically. He recalls accompanying his father by boat on the San Joaquin delta and through the Carquinez Strait to San Francisco. His father went to the former Stanford Hospital near the present Japan Town. There, his father was diagnosed with inoperable terminal stomach cancer. He reflects:

> The old man . . . sick. We all have to come to understand. They didn't hide it. The old man, *Otosan* (father), had cancer . . . . Cancer in the stomach.

He also recalled that his father was a heavy smoker and drinker and that his father and mother used to argue. He remembers:

> Mom used to yell at him. Drinking too much. He didn't argue. He just take it, I guess.

So the decision was to return to Japan.

> 1924. Whole family went back to Japan. It wasn't my thinking to go back to Japan. We were forced to leave with our parents.

They returned to his father's home in Hiroshima in September, 1924. But his father's condition was worsening.

> Then he went to see [the doctor] at *Hiroshima-ken byoin.* Hiroshima prefecture hospital. They told the same thing, what Stanford here had predicted. Whether he had an]operation or not, it will not do any good. Then he wanted to take another chance. Doctors in Hiroshima told him, you know, no longer can make improvement. Then he said he might as well go to *Fukuoka Daigaku* (Fukuoka University) Hospital. By that time couldn't walk already. While he was living in *Tsutsuse*, he was so damned weak. He was so slim he could barely eat *okayu* (rice gruel). He couldn't eat hard food. When he went back to Hiroshima (from the United States), he threw up a lot of blood. The tumor, you know, gave away and burst inside. It was just like wine, dark red wine. I saw it. I was there.

His mother, together with his uncles, accompanied his father's final visit to the hospital in Fukuoka, on the island of Kyushu. He recalls:

> Put him on that wagon with *zabuton* (pillow). *Zabuton de mo, futon de mo* (pillows and blankets). And then, he used to lay down. He can't even sit up. They took him to Hiroshima (train) station. Mother went. From Hiroshima to Kyushu. They left some evening. After reaching the hospital, they told him the same thing. There's not much hope even if he had operation. So six o'clock in the morning, I don't know what they but, he had the operation in night time. He was deceased. Gone. Yeah. I heard he was all busted. I mean it was all spread inside. So they couldn't do nothing. So before leaving there, they cremated the whole body. And when he came back he was just ash. He was in an urn. White sheet covered the *urn, kiri no hako o* (in a box made of pauwolina wood).

The tone of his voice changes. Sadness overcomes him. His eyes fill with tears. He pauses. Then he speaks further:

> You know, that's what I can't forget. We had so many Suda funerals when I was in Japan. Father died. After that *Obaasan* (grandmother) died. *Obaasan and ojiisan* (grandmother and grandfather) was still living there. My father died and *obaasan* died. And after that *Okasan* (mother) . . . . It was very sad, lonesome, you know. Because, after we got to Japan, losing our father. Then losing our mother. Father's mother. Father died in 1924 on November 7. *Okasan* (mother), May 31, 1927 or 1928. My

> life is kind of different. It's a lonely life. When mostly important thing is parents when you're growing up, right? We miss all those. Father died when I was ten. Mother died when I was thirteen. The next year I came to U.S. when I was fourteen.

Within the period of four years, *Suda-san* experienced the death of his father, mother and grandmother. In the face of these deaths of several significant family members in a short time, he experiences a deep loneliness that he can still readily access today. He characterizes his life and self in Japan as being lonely and sad.

Fujimoto-san is an eighty-three year old retired businessman, who was born and raised in Berkeley until the age of ten. He recalls:

> My father died when I was four years old and my sister was two years old . . . the two of us. My father died when he was thirty-eight years old. That year, we went to Berkeley *Nihonjinkai* (Japanese Association) picnic. He was in a three-legged race and he stumbled. Then that night he was sent to the hospital and he died that night. Yeah. He fell and hemorrhaged. He hit his head.

He remarks further:

> And now my mother was doing housework and cleaning for the *Hakujin* (Caucasian) family. Well, that's the way supporting us, see? She was living with sister and brother-in-law. They were doing the laundry work at home. But the income was small and with small kids around she couldn't work so much. When my sister was very, maybe, one year or so, at that time, they didn't know it was polio. Her right leg was affected and she had to go to doctor almost everyday for treatment because they didn't know it was polio. It was before President (Franklin D.) Roosevelt had that illness. So she needed a lot of expense. So my mother had to work harder. So she took me to Japan. Not want education, but so that grandparents could raise me.

The death of his father and the illness of his sister thus forced *Fujimoto-san*'s mother to send him to Japan for financial reasons. She was not financially able to support both her children. He elaborates:

> Economic reasons, yeah. Most of the Japanese that way. They send kids to Japan and those are ones they call Kibei. They were sent back to Japan so parents could work and raise the family. That's why my sister stayed in United States. She never went to Japan. And I stay eleven years in Japan. I stayed with grandparents. Then my mother came back to the United States. That time I was ten.

Thus, at the age of ten, *Fujimoto-san* was sent to live with his grandparents in Japan. His reason, as with other Kibei, was that the financial difficulty and strain precipitated his mother to send him to Japan in order for her to continue working and support the medical care of his sister. She did, however, continue to send money to Japan to financially assist him.

The above participants indicated in their lives that the death of one's parent affects all facets of one's family life. In their cases, it led to their life in Japan during their childhood. The financial burden placed on the surviving parent often forced the family to be separated. The separation, however, had emotional consequences that shaped and affected their life and self-identity. The loneliness, sadness, the lack of bonding and intimacy with one's parents continue to clearly affect their present lives in very tangible ways.

Education.

Shima-san, who is retired in Utah, was the only participant who clearly stated that he and his brother were sent to Japan specifically to be educated there.

> Well, reason for going back, my father--my mother and my father--think I need a Japanese education. And I think that their plan was to make money and go back to Japan and stay there. That's the reason they send myself and my brother back to Japan.

Wada-san, on the other hand, was not explicit as to the personal reasons why he was sent to Japan, except for the fact that he went with his grandfather who was also living with his parents at that time. He was six years old at that time. *Wada-san,* however, was more general about his response to the reasons for being sent to Japan:

> Two reasons: one was so sons or daughters could have a Japanese education so they sent back to Japan, and another one was financial reasons. They want children sent back to Japan so they can work here in the United States.

These two reasons, without a doubt, were of equal importance for many of the families to send their Kibei children to Japan.

Childhood and Adolescence in Japan

School Life.

The adjustment to life in Japan was generally not easy, even though the Kibei were acknowledged to be Japanese and blood relatives of other family members. At times, they encountered the difficulty of the Japanese language, especially when they entered school soon after arriving in Japan. They were also harshly reminded from time to time by their classmates that they were parentless. They each found their way to cope with their life in Japan.

Hayashi san quietly recalls:

> First I hate the school because I didn't speak Japanese good and then when I went to school some of the stuff I couldn't understand. I got to second grade and the teacher was so strict so I was kind of scared to go to school. I had to stand all day in one corner. I was bad boy. I did that a couple of times. One time I was sleeping or something and the teacher throw the white chalk at me. So I was probably sleeping. So then, oh! I hated to go to school.

Hayashi-san's difficulty with the Japanese language precipitated other difficulties related to school and his relationship with his relative. These conditions reinforced his dislike for school. He quit school after attending the eighth grade partially. He says:

> In Japan, I just went to grammar school. I didn't finish the grammar school. *Shichinensei made itta ke do* (I went through the seventh grade). *Hachinensei no toki wa* (In the eighth grade) I was . . . sometimes I had to take off and I can't go to school. Most of the time I went, but until summer time. But after summer, I can't go to school any more.

This was shortly before he returned to the United States.

Shima-san, who is retired in Utah, was sent to Japan when he was already ten years old. He remembers:

> I spoke nothing but English. Then when I went back to Japan when I was ten, I couldn't understand Japanese at all. So I all over studied Japanese all the time. Then catch up, you know, you were young so catch up pretty fast. In meantime, you forget English.

His inability to speak Japanese fluently caused his school peers to tease him.

> Well, whole thing about when you go to school at that time, you cannot speak too much Japanese. You don't know what they are talking about. So all the kids they just tease me as a foreigner, foreigner--*gaijin, gaijin* (foreigner). That's why I have a lot of fights with those kids. But meantime, pretty soon I came to be *gaki-taisho* (bully). They can't beat me so.

His physical strength and ability proved to be effective in proving himself to his peers. But also, the teasing motivated him to learn Japanese quickly. By the time he was in middle school he was accepted.

> . . . when you was in middle school, you was just like same as other kids. Japanese. Same as other kids. They treat me as other kids.

He then enrolled in a commercial high school, where he played baseball. He enjoyed the business courses, but also recalls studying *Shushin* (the Japanese instructions on morals and ethics). This was taught to all students to develop discipline and character. His *Shushin* class was taught by the principal of his school. He recalls learning:

> Well, respect elders. Don't do this kind of thing. Don't do that. Ordinary things that you shouldn't do. Respect elder or don't do the thing if you get doubt with somebody. '*Tori no shita de, kanmuri o tatazu*'. In other words, under the fruit tree, you don't touch the fruit with your head because they think you're stealing. You know, those kinds of things the *kocho sensei* (principal) . . . like respect the elder. When you are in a train and you see the older people and you sitting down, give your seat to the older people. As long as you yourself are trained that way, "*wa*" (harmony or peace) is come out. So if you see older people you bow then you don't have to talk. Then the older people say, "You're a good boy." Then "*wa*" comes by itself.

Shushin reinforced the Confucian ethics, especially of filial piety. This greatly influenced the behavior of the Japanese, and strongly shaped and reinforced one's self-identity. It was also a way where one sets aside one's personal feelings and fulfills one's duty for the harmony of the family and group.

Fujimoto-san, who went to Japan at the age of 10, started school in the third grade. Although he could speak Japanese passably, he initially had a difficult time. He says, "Little bit, because . . . but I had a hard time at the beginning." He gradually

adjusted to school life, made friends, and participated in sports, especially baseball. He did, however, flunk the examination to enter high school (*chugakko*) initially, but passed the following year. By the time he graduated from high school, he was twenty years old.

Oka-san, who was five years old when he went to Japan, expressed not having any difficulty with the Japanese language. The difficulty in Japan he remembers:

> Other kids tease me. I remember. I wear some kind of hunting cap. Then they call us "*immin-go*". It means immigrant child. And, poor immigrant child. Japanese are so prejudice, you know. Just kids are teasing us, but we are tough enough to bounce back. It doesn't bother me.

In this way, he felt the sting of the other children's teasing and felt their prejudice. There was no parental comfort and protection. He felt he had a difficult time. He and his siblings grew up independently in Japan. No parents were involved. His father had died and his mother had returned to the United States. But he missed their presence when graduating from high school. A note of sadness and bitterness was detected:

> Raised ourselves. They never asked about parents. I never, but the only thing I missed (them) when I finished high school. No one come after, no place to go back to when I finished high school.

He had taken entrance examinations to technical colleges, but did not pass. So he was in somewhat of a limbo until he decided to return to the United States.

While he was in high school, Japanese nationalism was on the rise and military expeditions were taking place in China in the l930's. High school students were being drilled and disciplined militarily, besides learning the traditional martial arts of judo and kendo. *Oka-san* says:

> Then you have to take military training. That's maybe every other day or so. Oh, discipline. Then just like you were in the army. The way I dressed was all army uniform. Not exactly like an army, but used army rifle. Then all the captain or something came from army base over to school and teach us certain tough discipline.

At that time, Japanese patriotism was also reinforced at school. He recalls:

> Yeah. Because every time you go to school, there's what you call *Hoandan* (The Declaration of the Preservation of Peace). There's a picture of the Emperor inside this building. Then there's the *Kyoiku-chokugo* (The Imperial Rescript on Education). It's in there. So every time you go through the gate, there's a building there; you have to *saikei-rei* (bow deeply). Every time you have to do that. You can't miss that. I guess that time the Japanese is *chusei* (pledged loyalty) to the Emperor. I was educated all the way through school. Nothing. Nobody say anything. Nobody.

The patriotic pitch was high during his adolescence. He was strongly influenced by this patriotism. Japan was winning its expansionist war in Manchuria and China in the mid-1930's. The nationalistic fever was mounting.

> That time nothing but good news. It's not propaganda. Japan was winning. Then we have to go to the station. Then send the soldiers over. Soldiers die and come home; still have to go to station to welcome home. Keep us busy all the time. Nothing but militaristic stuff. Getting worse and worse. From the beginning toward the end. Yeah. High school. Toward the end, Japan involved in China. More pressure. Even a lot of our instructors sent to China to war.

He also conveyed his attitude towards the United States at that time:

> I guess Japanese not anti-American or anything. America is nothing to it. Just weak. *Bakani shittota* (Looking down and making light of the U. S.). United States is nothing. Can't fight the war or anything. Japanese been fighting war all the time before that. China. Russia. America never fight so we just (thought) American people can't fight war. But, nothing against America. No. Just take China and everything else.

His self-identity in effect was strongly influenced by the training and discipline of Japanese patriotism and nationalism of his adolescent years.

Suda-san was ten years old when he went to Japan in 1924. In the period from 1924 to 1929, his father, mother and grandmother died. Although he spoke mostly English when he started school in the third grade, he doesn't recall having difficulty in Japanese. He recalls "speaking Japanese pretty good." Nor was he teased much by his classmates. He says:

> They didn't make fun. I was pretty big size. So when they make fun out of me . . . (laughter). You saw my picture while I was going to *Tsutsuse no gakko* (the school in my village at Tsutsuse). I'm oversized compared to Japan kids.

He remembers that his school life in the short time he stayed in Japan was uneventful. His father's death, his mother's death, and his grandmother's death all remain the most salient memory of his life in Japan.

He too remembers that in addition to his regular school work and physical education, *Shushin* (the Japanese instructions on morals and ethics) was strongly emphasized. He says emphatically:

> *Shushin.* Trying to teach human beings to act more like a man; woman like a woman. I think that's the best thing in teaching principles to the kids. Now days they don't have it so many lose the value. First of all is manner. You respect people. *Me ue no hito o sonkei suru* (respect those who are above your eyesight). Respect the old people. But over here, no! So that's the difference. Respect means in many ways. Manner of whatever words you put it in, you don't look down on older people no matter where you go. Also with others. *Shushin* is the most important thing.

The ethics of respecting one's elders evidenced in *Shushin* reinforced the prevailing Confucian ethics of filial piety which is strongly emphasized in Japanese life. Exercising this ethic reinforces one's self-identity of correctness in daily behavior and deed. Though inwardly lonesome and sorrowful, *Suda-san's* life was strongly guided by the principles of *Shushin*.

Oda-san, who was sent to Japan with his sister at the age of two, of course, had no difficulty with Japanese. He, however, grew up aggressively as he recalls:

> When I was a kid I didn't argue. Somebody makes me mad. That's it. So some guy may be cussing at me and I'm jumping on him. (laughter). If he says *bakatare* (stupid), I don't say *bakatare.* That's all I need. I just jump on him. So grammar school *de ne* , whole school was kind of afraid of me because I was . . . *kenka yu tara* (if it was a fight) I just jump in.

He was a tough guy. He was raised by his grandmother, uncle and aunt. Still he missed his parents.

> That's . . . you miss that during grammar school. I felt that way. First, second, third and up to fourth grades. Because PTA. School play. And in some cases they always ask you, "Where's your mama?" "Where's your papa?" Right? *Nihon de wa chiisai toki ni, "Oya nashi bakatare. Oya nashi go. Omayewa oya ga nai" to yuute kara.* (In Japan when I was small, they used to say, "You're the stupid kid with no parents. The kid with no parents. You don't have any parents). Got teased like this *chiisai to ni* (when I was a child). *Ooki nattara* no (When I grew up, no).

His grandmother often participated in his school activities and programs in place of his surviving parent, his father. His father, however, never returned while he was being raised and educated in Japan. Thus, without a parent to guide him, he developed a tough exterior to cope with his situation. He further remarks:

> If you're all by yourself, no one to guard you; no papa, no mama; you gotta be tough. I didn't want to be cry baby. I guess I could cry. Instead of crying, I fought. I never go back to grandma and cry. I never go home and tell grandma. So many guys gave me a bad time. I gotta fight all the time.

He participated in numerous sports: baseball, basketball, tennis, volleyball, kendo and judo. He responds:

> When I play sports, I'm like Ronnie Lott. Crazy. (laughter). Hit 'em hard. *Honto* (really). You grow up that way.

This was the persona he had cultivated prior to returning to the United States.

Wada-san who was six years old when he went to Japan with his grandfather reflected more critically on *Shushin* which was taught in his childhood.

> *Shushin* is . . . it's nothing connected to military training. Daily manner. How to respect the teacher. How to respect older people. You got to *koko* (be filial) to parents. Those things . . . in grammar school it was strongly stressed. But in high school, maybe it's one hour a week or so. No examination; so not so important; in grammar school, yes. In high school and college, not too strong. Just go through the book. That's about all.
>
> *Shushin* also connected to your daily life so living in the community you learn about *Shushin.* The idea of *Shushin* is not only Japanese. The Nisei; American people have the same idea. For instance, you've got to accept the older people. You got to be nice to your parents or best friend. It's daily life, so not particular for Japanese. Or just for Kibei. Or for people who were educated in Japan. So I don't think, for myself, I don't feel that way. Basic idea came from there, but it was not only for Kibei, but for everybody. Even that philosophy applies to American Nisei. They do the same thing for parents or brothers or sister

Wada-san amongst the participants, critically reflecting on *Shushin* saw the broader application of its philosophy. *Shushin* reflects a code of conduct in daily life that renders respect to one's parents and elders, and therefore, creates respect for one's self.

Relationship with Relatives.

The participants' childhood life in Japan were generally spent with their grandparents, uncles and aunts. For two of the participants, a parent or parents returned to Japan while they were in their adolescence. Generally, all of the participants seemed to be well supported and guided during their life in Japan. The surviving parent or parents in the United States continued to financially support the participant and the relatives with whom they stayed. The participants were also expected to work and help with the maintenance of their care.

Suda-san, who lived under the care of his grandfather after his father, mother and grandmother died, recalls:

> I had to help my grandpa. Had to work during the season with *kome* (rice). I didn't have to work during school hours, but during the harvest time I worked. And firewood, I would help my uncle gather them from the mountain on weekends.

He was actively helping his grandfather on the farm as well as attending school during his short time in Japan. In this way, he was contributing to his stay with his grandfather.

Oka-san, who lived with his grandmother and aunt, remembers:

> After grammar school came home. I have to go to the mountain to pick up all the brush. Or, working the rice field, weeding or when you come to autumn, you have to work till late. Except for rice planting, I helped my cousin who was doing all the farming for us.

Hayashi-san, amongst all of the participants, had the most difficulty while in Japan. Both his grandparents, with whom he stayed, died while he was in Japan. He was then sent to live with his uncle, who was the brother of his stepmother.

> Well, my stepmother, she had a brother in Japan. He was supposed to take care of all the money and supposed to look after us. But he's a lazy type. He worked on the farm sometimes. He went to city sometimes to work. So I didn't like him. Besides he had two twins the same age as me. We sent to school together but these twins, their school grades were pretty good. But then I am dumb, so this *ojisan* (uncle) give me a hard time always comparing me with the twins. So that's why I hate this *ojisan.*

He also recollects that before she died, his grandmother, wanted him to relate something to his father when he returned to Japan:

> My grandmother told me to tell my father that my uncle was supposed to look after my family in Japan, but he did not help out too much. Instead, my aunt did more to help and comfort us.

The conflict with his uncle was painful:

> Every time he come my place, *ibbatte*, then *jibun no kodomo homete, boku o okoru wake yo. Gakko ni itte mo, masu benkyo o senkara*, you *wa benkyo sento dame da.* (Every time he would come over, he would brag about his kids and scold me. I was not doing well at school, but he would say, "You're no good if you don't study.").

His loneliness deepened and he remembers feeling:

> There was this hillside I could see my *furusato* (home). I could see from there. So I thought about when my folks were going to be back from the U. S. I could get together but I was thinking about those things all the time. But at my cousin's place, the work was sure hard for me.

Finally, he decided to contact his parents and return to the United States.

> Most of the time I never thought I was going to come back to the United States, but since I went to my cousin's place and the work was so hard for

> me, I didn't want to stay. I was helping rice farm and I was working so hard. I decided to come back to the U. S. so I asked my folks. I wrote the letter.

Shima-san lived with three uncles after he and his brother were sent to Japan. He was involved in childhood fights with schoolmates that prompted his relatives to move him. He says:

> I was such a bad boy. I went from one uncle to the other uncle and the other uncle. Three times I moved to my uncles.

He generally got along with his uncles and relatives. But as he grew into his teens he became "cocky", as he remarks:

> Yeah, they're not that strict, but when I get old enough I was a cocky son-of-a-gun. I say to my uncle, "My father sends you money every month. You've got to give me more money." I was cocky son-of-a-gun. And, yeah, my father sends me money and at that time it was two to one, American fifty dollars is one hundred dollars in Japan. That's why I was so cocky. When I was young, fourteen or fifteen, around there, I get cocky so I tell my uncle that my father sends money all the time so you've got to treat me better than that.

On another occasion, he had a fight with his uncle. He recalls:

> I had that fight with my uncle. My uncle put me in the *kura* (a storehouse on the side of the house). In Japan, you know what the *kura* is. Then they throw me in there. In the morning they just forget me. I cried like heck, but they never got me out of the *kura*. In the meantime, the darkness you getting used to it. You can see the thing. You can see the *yoroi* (an armored warrior suit) and *katana* (sword) and everything there. So I took the *katana* and cut all the *rengeso* (a Chinese mild vetch). They put it in farm with seeds in there. I cut the seeds out of there. After that they never put me in the *kura*. I think I was about fourteen or so.

During his adolescence, when he was in his third year at the commercial high school, where he was now playing a lot of baseball, his parents returned to Japan. He remembers:

> I remember I went to Hokkaido with my father. He tried to make a sugar factory. But at that time in Japan, what he's thinking and what is in Japan is too far apart. So Japanese people don't buy it, the idea. He can't set it up so he left my mother in Japan and came to the United States and make some more money. Yes, at that time, my mother and two sisters were in Japan and we had the property. We had the home and everything. She died in 1939.

His father's business venture failed and he returned to the United States to make more money to support his family. But the money from his father did not come steadily and he eventually would join his father to help with the financial support of the family.

Oda-san was raised by his grandmother, and as he claims, he was raised as a *botchan* (a privileged boy). He did not have to work in the fields as both his father's and mother's families were financially solvent. He was closely attached to his grandmother.

Fujimoto-san was raised in Japan by his grandparents. His life in Japan seemed to focus on school and developing friends. He did not speak of having to work on the farm.

Wada-san went to Japan with his grandfather. He is the most Japanese educated of the participants; he went to grammar school, high school and part way through college. His parents and siblings returned to Japan while he was being raised by his grandfather. He did not speak in detail about his life in Japan.

CHAPTER V

PRE-WORLD WAR II: LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

This chapter discusses the Kibei participants' return to the United States. The Kibei participants returned to the United States between 1929 and 1939 at a time when the world situation was rapidly changing. The United States entered the period of the great Depression in 1929, a time of economic collapse throughout the world. Japan was engaged in military expansionism in China and Manchuria and the relationship between Japan and the United States was gradually deteriorating.

This chapter explores the Kibei participants' reasons for returning to the United States, their encounter with racial prejudice and discrimination, and their relationship with Nisei and Issei.

Return and Life in the United States

Reasons for Returning to the United States

At the time of their return to the United States, the participants were generally in their mid to late teens. Their path to independence was beginning as they entered the beginnings of early adulthood.

Hayashi-san returned to the United States in 1929 after spending eleven years in Japan. The hardship of living and working for his uncle in Japan whom he did not respect caused him to write his father and stepmother asking to return to the United States. He had not seen his father since he was four years old and he was now sixteen. He was

happy to see him. He says, "Well, *yappari ureshii* (of course, I'm happy). First time I met him." He then enrolled in school.

> Then I went to school, I think, about a year and a half. Then I was older than others, so they put me in sixth grade. I didn't understand English, but you know, *Hakujin* (Caucasian) say something, then after that they laugh at me. (laughter). Anyway, I hated to go to school so I quit school and I was helping my folks, about two years.

He was initially happy to see his father, but as the reality of living in America became apparent, his inability to understand English and his lack of self-esteem in school contributed to the termination of his formal education. Instead, he threw himself into working on his father's farm. He defined himself as a worker and not as a student.

Wada-san relates that the main reason he left Japan was to avoid being drafted into the Japanese army. His parents had returned to Japan while he was still in school, but his father died before he returned to the United States. He states:

> Well, at that time, Japan was already in a war with China. I don't want to be drafted into Japanese army so I came back. I was *chonan* (the oldest son). Head of the family. My father passed away before I leave Japan, so they wanted me to stay, but I decided myself. They didn't against it.

When he returned to San Francisco in 1934 he was eighteen years old, alone and with no relatives to meet him. He remarks, "When I came to this country no one was here." He had to fend for himself and felt like an outsider:

> I felt different from Nisei; different from Japanese community. Entirely outside. I don't know why I felt that. I don't know, but I felt that way.

Returning to America marked the beginning of a new life free from the militarism and nationalism that was enveloping Japanese life at home. His self-definition was one of an outsider.

Fujimoto-san's return to America was initiated by his mother who asked him to return while he was enrolled in high school. He decided to return after his high school graduation and began preparing immediately by studying English diligently. At graduation, he received a special commendation that boosted his self-esteem. He speaks proudly:

> So at graduation ceremony, I was asked to represent the whole group of that class. They give you special certificate for perfect attendance. Then I have to represent that group and go up and get the special certificate.

He left Japan with much anticipation. English was not a handicap for him, even though he was away for ten years. He remembers meeting his sister after ten years:

> Oh, I was able to speak quite a bit by then, because I was trying to prepare to come back so I studied hard. So I could speak a little bit.

When asked if he felt close to his mother after the ten year separation, he answered:

> Well, she speak *Nihongo* (Japanese) so I speak *Nihongo* more. So we get along better.

He seemed to avert the question. This seemed to indicate perhaps he was not close to her. When asked the question again, his response was a perfunctory, "Yeah." The separation from his mother and sister resulted in an emotional distancing from both of them. He did, however, relate the following enthusiastically:

> When I came back, lot of my old friends still remembered me, and we got to be good friends right away. I was going to learn the perfect English, so I spoke English to my sister and I went to day school and night school when I came back. When I got into high school I went into the *Hakujin* (Caucasian) family as a school boy. Learned more English. Then, since I have a Japanese high school education, I was allowed to graduate in two years instead of three years. And went to Armstrong Business College. And start working in a Japanese import company in San Francisco.

His desire to return to the United States was encouraged by his mother who wanted him to rejoin her and his sister. He was returning home to resume his life and further his education. His self-definition was one of the returning sojourner.

Shima-san, after graduating from commercial high school, had a job with Meiji Seimei (Meiji Insurance Company) in Osaka. Instead, he was encouraged by his mother to go to the United States with his brother to join his father in the coal mines in Utah and make money.

> Well, my mother start worrying about it (money), so that's why my mother said you and your brother go to the United States and make some money and come back. My mother still thinking easy money you can make in the United States and send to Japan.

Thus, while his mother and his two sisters remained in Japan, he and his brother joined their father in July, 1932 in San Francisco. They went directly to Utah to the coal mine where his father worked. He says:

> I went to work right away. Start work in coal mind right away. Eight hour days. Made good money too.

For three years he worked the winters mining coal and worked the summers picking grapes and tomatoes in California. He was thus strongly motivated to return to the United States to provide further financial support for his mother and sisters in Japan,

for working in the United States was a financial task that he used to define his responsibility as an adult.

Suda-san wanted to return to the United States after his mother died and his wish was fulfilled when his older brother and his wife brought him at age fourteen and his younger brother to the United States in the Spring of 1928. His oldest brother had taken over his father's job as foreman of the grape ranch in Lodi, California and lived in the same house his parents had occupied. Living with his older brother and sister-in-law, however, was not like living with his parents. He says,

> Actually, G is my brother, but it's not like coming back to your own parents. That time you have the strange feeling. I wouldn't say I was close, but I respected him as my brother. It's not stranger, 'cause you're brothers. But not like living with your folks.

Although he immediately enrolled in school and attended school for a few years, the four years of living in Japan made it difficult for him to catch up, mainly due to his difficulty with English. Finally, after a half a year in the ninth grade, he quit school. He says:

> I didn't care for school by then. I was doing a lot of work for my brother like when he was short-handed on weekends. Or when he needed temporary help, I would go there and work with the grapes; thin them and hoe around the vines.

At age eighteen, he yearned for more independence and so he became a seasonal farm worker. During the grape season he lived with his brother and worked for him; in the spring he worked the asparagus fields in the Sacramento delta. He used work as the path to his independence as an adult. He realized he was competent and this awareness could lead him to the transformation of his reality.

Oka-san, after he failed his examination for the technical institute, had to wait a year before he was eligible to take the test again. His cousin encouraged him to go to the United States instead of staying in Japan. He recalls:

> That's the only choice I had. I was going to stay and study some more, but out of curiosity I just came over here. I just want to come and see what they look like. I wanted to see my mother; how she was doing.

Thus, in September of 1939 at age eighteen, he returned to San Francisco. He met his mother and briefly stayed with her, but since she was a live-in domestic worker for a Caucasian family, he soon moved out and rented a room on his own. He respected his mother, but still the lack of closeness as parent and child remained:

> I never close to my mother. Well, she's natural mother so I respected mother. No feeling. No feeling at all. I don't have any feeling at all of my mother because I was raised from five years old by auntie. Yeah, auntie. Or most likely I'm independent. I don't feel I need anybody. I don't need anything.

He then enrolled in high school and also attended night school to improve his English, but the difficulty he had in learning English made him keenly self-consciousness of his uniqueness as a Kibei. He says,

> I had difficulty in English. I got fundamental; all the grammar and all the English learned in high school (in Japan). But the pronunciation then listening and catching it was hard. But I went to night school trying to catch up. I got not into trouble in high school, except sometime I have to do book report in front of everybody and it's hard. (laughter). People don't understand my English.

The difficulty with the English language often led the Kibei to rely on each other for support. But this too was not readily accepted by the Nisei. He says,

> All Kibei guys get together. Then most of the Nisei guys were teasing us. They think we are dumb or something because we can't speak English. Yeah. They should know I came from Japan, but those Nisei people never help me out. So I stick with a lot of black people. (laughter). Only go around with black people.

This language handicap also generated teasing from Caucasian students:

> Teasing. Teasing you because we don't speak too good English. They think I'm dumb or something. (laughter). So just frustrating; fight, you know.

The difficulty with the English language defined him as an outsider, not only in the Caucasian mainstream , but also in the Japanese American world of the Nisei.

Oda-san had no intention of ever returning to the United States, but in his senior year, his father sent him a letter indicating that he was critically ill and dying. He wanted to see his son before his death and sent the money for his fare. His grandmother also encouraged him to go see his father for one last time. After initially resisting her request, he finally relented:

> "You *no otosan ga guai ga warui. Aitai kara kane o okutte kita*. America *ni ai ni iku ka?"* (Your father is seriously ill. He wants to see you so he sent money for your fare. Would you go to America?), Obaachan said. "*Otosan shiran. Obaachan ni sodatete moratta. Obaachan to oru."* (I don't know my father. Grandma, you raised me. I want to stay with you.) I'm going to look after you. If I go, I will go after you die." I didn't have to look after her because there are all the uncles and aunties. (laughter). *Baachan* (grandma) has no worry because of all those people. "But he's dying." I said, "How do you know?" "Well, that's what the letter says. You know for him, which is your father; he's your father regardless whether you like him or not. He doesn't think the way you think. He got a son sent out here and wants to see him. You are his son. So between father and sons, you just don't understand. Someday you will. Right now you don't. So I want you to go see your father before it's too late. If you catch cold or if your father dies, come right back." "OK! If that's the case." So I came all by myself.

He may have hesitated due to his own fears of making such a long journey alone, but he never acknowledged his terror of facing the unknown.

He was eighteen years old when he finally met his father in August, 1937. He recalls he was neither glad nor felt especially close to him when they met:

> Pretty cold, huh. Too far distance. This was the first time in my life. You become eighteen years old and first time you see your father. *Ureshii nai wa.* Oh, *anta ga watashi no otosan desu ka gurai no koto* (I was not happy. In a casual sense I thought, "Oh, you're the person who's my father.") That's pretty far. "Hi, dad!" *yu no to* (to say); "Are you my father?" You know. *Ima wa mo sugu daite nakiau ga, mukashi wa sonna koto, zenzen nain dakara* (Now days, people immediately hug and cry when they meet, but in the old days, there were no such expressions of behavior). *Tada atama sagete* (I only bowed my head to him).

He explained the customary manners for greeting family members in those days and used those behaviors as a rationalization for the emotional distance between him and his father. He did not express his feelings of pain and hurt that his father did not show any interest in him until he discovered he had terminal cancer. He also expressed no anger at his father ignoring him for so many years.

Soon after he met his father for the first time. He had to go to work to generate an income. Entering the world of work was a major transition for him because he had lived a privileged life in Japan. He recalls soon after he met his father:

> So I came (to the United States) and the first thing my father said was that you need shoes and clothes and all that stuff. Yeah. I thought he was going to buy for me. He say, "Go to work." Go to work? I can't even speak English. So there's a lot of work through the *Nihonjin* (Japanese).

Thus in the summer of his arrival in 1937, he picked fruits, and in the winter, he worked in the packing shed icing broccoli, celery, peas and other vegetables for freight. He typically worked sixteen hour days during the season. Finally he got sick. He recalls:

> This is *Nihonjin no* (Japanese) packing shed *dakara* (thus) you know how it is. *Mo gojikan, mo sanjikan* (Another five hours; another three hours). You gotta do it. *So uchini kaette oyaji ni* (So I go home and say to my father), "Oh, I'm really sick. I'm not going tomorrow." "Oh, you're playing games." So I got mad. "Why should I play games here? I'm going to Japan as soon as I get well. The hell with this!"

But then he did not have enough money for the fare back to Japan. His father then presented him with a thoughtful challenge. He recalls:

> "It's a shame you go back now." "Why?" "Well, *koko made yatte kitara, kane o nigitte kaeru ka, gakumon o nigitte--dotchi ka o nigitte kaerana*, shame *da.*" (Well, if you have come this far, then you should either go home with a lot of money or with a lot of knowledge. Otherwise, it is a shame that you even came here. So I said, "OK, you go a point." Boom! I went to school.

While studying English in school, he maintained a job as a school boy in San Jose. Later he moved to San Francisco, took a job as a school boy for survival and attended City College. His self-definition was strongly related to his ability to meet the challenge of his father's knowledge and employment in both domains..

Working as school boys was the common route many Kibei took in order to learn the English language and the American lifestyle. Living with Caucasian families out of necessity accelerated their successful adaptation to the American lifestyle. Preparing meals, dusting and cleaning, and various other household chores prepared them for independent living.

Encountering Racial Discrimination and Prejudice

As the Kibei adapted to the American lifestyle, they also became increasingly aware of the discriminatory practices enforced upon the Japanese and other ethnic minorities. Their family of Issei and Nisei lived with daily racial prejudice and discrimination, especially on West Coast--California, Oregon and Washington. Japanese businesses in their own ethnic communities were confined to urban centers. Nisei graduates from higher education institutions such as the University of California in Berkeley often found themselves jobless after earning their degrees. University graduates would return to their ethnic enclaves in cities and rural areas to work at occupations unrelated to their university degrees because the mainstream businesses and corporations would not hire them. Unions that protected skilled blue-collar workers prohibited and discouraged skilled Japanese workers from joining. The agricultural industry, with mostly minimal paying jobs, was one of the few areas that the Nisei readily found jobs as the Issei had done before them. Such was the employment picture and political climate the Kibei found upon returning to the United States.

Shima-san, after working the coal mines in Utah, felt the direct impact of discriminatory practices when he came to California to work during the summer time in the fruit orchards in Northern California:

> Only thing is I found out when I come to the summer time and start working in California, then I felt it. But during that time in the coal mines I never felt it. Yeah, we come down some places; I never thought anything. So like Sacramento start in one place, I sat in a restaurant; we couldn't get served. Waitress was serving everybody else, but my brother and I never got served. So we just wondering, what the heck? You're

> Japanese, Finally waitress said, "You're Japanese and we don't serve you here."
>
> Then we come to Suisuin-Fairfield and start working in the orchards there. Then one Sunday we said let's go fishing, perch fishing, over by Sebastopol. Lots of fish there. They got signs up. 'Japs stay out. Japs stay out.' All kinds of signs out. That's the only time I felt discrimination. But when I was in coal mine I never felt it. I just among them.

These discriminatory incidents occurred in 1933 or 1934. These incidents affected *Shima-san* strongly. In the coal mines, he had not encountered racial discrimination as he did later in California. He had worked earlier with Caucasians and didn't have any problems with them because of his race. He even had friends from among his fellow Caucasian workers and also, surprisingly at that time, a Caucasian girl friend. But in 1935 when he first moved to Salt Lake City, he felt discrimination against him and his friends. He remarks:

> Like when I come to Salt Lake City in 1935 and start playing *Bussei* (Young Buddhist) baseball team over there. Then the Salt Lake City young guys go to the theater, and then they send you to "nigger heaven," upstairs. Stairway place, you know. But I said the heck with it. I'm cocky son-of-a-gun so I walked right in main floor. They don't do anything. And they also have hot springs in Salt Lake. Wasatch Springs, they call it. You go over there and they won't let you in. "Let's try go." I have a couple of friends and go over there and walk right in. Didn't have any trouble. As far as discrimination goes, I didn't have too much.

Racial discrimination, in any blunt or subtle form, can cut a minority person to the quick and these acts of hateful aggression become indelibly etched in the mind and heart of the outsider.

Oda-san recalls his encounters with racial prejudice soon after moving to San Francisco to work as a school boy while attending City College. He recalls waiting for a streetcar:

> I was waiting for streetcar and two *Hakujin* (Caucasian) come and "Hey, Jap! You can't get on the bus!" "Why not?" "You yellow ass!" That kind of stuff. So I just, no more talk. I just jumped them. *Kuronbo* (blacks) never give me any trouble. It's *Hakujin*. Push me around. I just grab them. I must have fought about a half a dozen times with *Hakujin*.

He was planning to return to Japan in a few years after he finished his education here, at least, that was the story he had related to his father. Also, he felt his career opportunities were very limited here because of the racial prejudice and discrimination. He says,

> *Kono kuni de wa boku wa chansu ga nai kara. So desho.* San Jose *sotsugy site, Nihonjin no* job. *Hakujin ga* 'C' *de* graduate *shite; Nihonjin ga* 'B' *de* graduate *shite, Hakujin shika yatowan desho. Sabetsu atta kara ne. Soko de mo, 'Japu, Japu' de,* some *naka de kenka shitarii,* street *de kenka shitari ne.* (I don't have a chance in this country. Isn't that right? Japanese cannot get a job even when they graduate from schools in San Jose. If a white person graduates with a C average and a Japanese graduates with a B average; the white person gets hired. That's because of racial discrimination. Then to be called, "Jap, Jap"; some end up fighting within; others fight on the street).

His feelings of anger toward Caucasians and how they mistreated him over the course of his life persists. At least he expressed his frustration directly by engaging the Hakujin in open fisticuffs and did not opt out for moving the battlefield inside his mind or his stomach as some Nisei and Kibei did and later noticed stomach ulcers or internal organs racked with cancer. His family had seen his emotional outbursts, especially when he would get drunk. He says:

> When I get drunk, I talk about how much I suffered. *Keto!* (literally means 'hairy person' and is a derogatory term for Caucasians). My wife says every time I drink too much, *dete kuru* (it comes out). To me, it naturally comes out. So if I'm not having a drink, I press all that. *Nondara* (when I drink) my wife used to tell me that. Sometimes my daughter used to bring doctor and lawyer friends, *Hakujin*. And conversation goes and something touch something and I start getting mad. It's not from the beginning. If somebody brings something up that touch my nerve, the I say, 'God damn, *Keto*! (laughter). *Bakani suru na*! (Don't make a fool out of me!) Because ordinarily they look down on you. Especially if they're lawyers and doctors, and I'm a dirt farmer, right? Then, *Nihonjin o bakani shitara* (if they look down on Japanese) I get mad. You get pushed around so much. You lose your trust. *Imade mo ne* (even now). I don't trust *Hakujin* one hundred percent. I got my eyes open. *Nihonjin dattara* (if the person is Japanese) somehow I just trust. Even if you cheat me, I trust.

These feelings of anger that he had short circuited too many times and the rage he felt continues to be projected on to the Caucasians as many ethnic minority groups have done who are victims of racism in the United States. These feelings of unexpressed fury and the sense of unresolved, damaging and abusive unfairness are not uncommon amongst the Kibei even today.

Fujimoto-san, after returning to Berkeley, studied business at Armstrong College. After graduating from Armstrong, he went to work for a Japanese import and export company in San Francisco. His primary associations were with other Japanese: "I didn't make any *Hakujin* friends." He himself reported no direct encounter with prejudice, but "I knew there was prejudice, because the Japanese all talk about it." He further elaborated:

> Even you graduate the college, you can't get into the line you study because the *Hakujin* get all the position. And, you know, Japanese send kids to the school much as possible, so they're more forced to go to graduate. But after graduating, nothing to do but go into gardening. That

> was very shame. Well, only person start business in line you learn in college is dentist, doctor. If you have accounting you start working for Japanese firm. That's about the limit.

The college successes of the Nisei students did not readily translate into jobs in the mainstream business world. The prevailing practice of discriminating against Japanese seeking good jobs was common at that time. He says, "Well, it was all over. We took it for granted."

Oka-san, while attending high school in San Francisco to further his English language ability, began to see the effects of discriminatory practices towards the Japanese. He saw that "Lot of Japanese finish UC (University of California at Berkeley), and he can't get a job; good job." He noticed further that the Japanese couldn't get into the unions. He recalls:

> I was going to be a automobile mechanic. But a friend of mine went to trade school after high school, trying to get a job. They don't hire you. They don't want to let you get into the union. Yeah, so that's not good. So I didn't try that. Union working conditions, any Japanese cannot get into union working shops. So, job is so restricted; even you're a college graduate you can't get it. So lot of Nisei people didn't got to college; no use to go to college.

Thus, it was common knowledge that both white-collar and blue-collar jobs were not readily available for the Japanese outside their own separate communities. Discriminatory practices often forced even university educated Nisei to return to their own communities after finishing college and it was not uncommon to see well educated university graduates working in the Japanese section of a city in manual labor jobs such as gardening or working as small business proprietors or returning to an old standby--their agricultural base of farming or running a fruit stand.

Relationship with Nisei and Issei

Kibei, not only felt the harsh discrimination from Caucasians in the mainstream of society, but because of their unique experiences, they also were subjected to painful discrimination practices at the hands of their own Nisei and even Issei. The world was a sea of roving sharks and they were mostly prey until they learned how to defend themselves and later to fight back more effectively. Although five of the seven participants expressed generally smooth contacts with Issei and Nisei after returning from Japan, the remaining two participants strongly expressed their negative experiences and observations of the Kibei relationship with the Nisei and Issei. *Oka-san* expressed his personal experience:

> Oh, they (Nisei) think we are dumb because we can't speak English. Yeah. They should know I came from Japan, but they, those Nisei people, never help me out. I don't know, but just because don't speak English. Not only that, I guess, in a way, I don't know. Father is from Japan. They shouldn't hate the Kibei. But some way they don't like Kibei guys.

He continued further:

> I guess Nisei think they're *Hakujin*, like regular American. The Kibei is a Japanese. Because when I was in high school, they (Nisei) just play around with white kids. Nobody helped me just because they know I can't understand English. If you try to help the Japanese, they should help me. But they never talked to me. Some Nisei is different. They talk to Kibei too. But a lot of them just don't bother to talk to the Kibei. I go to high school so I mix around with Nisei all the time. I know a lot of Nisei; went to school together. But hardly talk to them.

From *Oka-san's* view, Kibei were treated in an inferior way even by the Nisei, in the face of these abusive acts, he found himself feeling betrayed and alienated--an outsider, a marginal man.

Wada-san's observation of the Kibei's return to the United States was more critical. He remarks,

> Kibei is more outside so a lot of people has Kibei. I don't know why. Community, whole community, I mean Japanese community, including Issei and Nisei, they don't like Kibei. I don't know why but there's some kind of joke. *Jibun no* daughter *o yomesan ni yaru noni, Kibei ni wa yaru na to.* (When you give your daughter away in marriage, don't give her to a Kibei). That's the attitude Issei had, but I don't know why. But those things, little by little, Kibei start feeling that.

Wada-san acknowledges that the reasons for the discriminatory attitude toward the Kibei by the Issei and Nisei are not personally clear, but he thinks they are the following:

> The main thing is they couldn't speak fluent English. That's the main thing. And another thing, of course, while I was in Japan, military education *datta kara* (because of), your idea is naturally full of Japanese. *Ano, Nihon no heitai no* education *o minna uketa kara ne. Kottchi kaette kitemo,* Nisei *to hana-shitemo hanashiga awanai ne*. (Ah, because everyone received the Japanese military education, when they returned they could not communicate in the same way with the Nisei).

The implication here is that the gap between the Kibei and the Issei and Nisei were due to the Kibei's Japanese education which required more military training and education and in turn identified their Japaneseness more clearly and definitely, and their inability to speak English. Both were strong factors in the separation of the Kibei from their Issei parents because of a more thorough and higher Japanese education, and a stronger Japanese nationalistic orientation than was desirable for their Nisei siblings and peers. The Issei and Nisei had the advantage of greater continuity in their family ties and community experiences than the Kibei had. In one sense, because the Kibei was more authentically Japanese, they represented an obstruction to the Issei and Nisei in their

acculturation efforts, and so the Kibei always had the feeling of being "outsiders" stepping into a separate world shared exclusively by Issei and Nisei.

CHAPTER VI

WORLD WAR II: LIFE EXPERIENCES DURING WORLD WAR II

This chapter explores the lives of the participants during World War II, including their reactions to the advent of the war, their lives in the concentration camps, in the armed service, in government work, and life in the "free zone."

Reaction to the Advent of World War II

At the outbreak of the war, *Shima-san* was already married and had 2 children, having gotten married in 1937. He was working as a bookkeeper at a Japanese laundry. On December 7, 1941, he and his brother joined two Nisei friends and went duck hunting outside of Salt Lake City. He recalls:

> Anyway we went duck hunting. That was a fine day. No clouds or nothing. We didn't have too good duck hunting, but we stayed there all day. Then we stopped in a restaurant and we had coffee and pie. Then everybody was looking at us funny, but we never thought anything about it until we got out of there and got in the car and turned on the radio. Then find out that all Japanese ancestry please stay in the home. Yeah, don't go out. So then we thought something happened. Pretty soon it came out that the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. And the war started. That time when I heart that, 'Doggone those Japs! They started it!' That's all I thought. Yeah. You know it's coming. You read in the paper and everything. It's coming somewhere around there, but finally they're the ones that started it. That's what I felt.

His reaction to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the realization of the beginning of the war with Japan was a common one at that time. However, he was aware that the war was imminent as he was reading the Japanese newspapers about the development of

the Japanese military plans of expansion. Armed conflict was inevitable--a matter of time.

Soon after the bombing, he made an irrevocable decision to stay and not to entertain any more thoughts to of returning to Japan. His mother had died in 1939, and his father returned to settle in Salt Lake City with his youngest sister. His older sister, however, married and remained in Japan with her husband. *Shima-san* himself was married to a Nisei woman and they had two children. He says,

> War started December 7th. Monday morning I got picked up by the FBI; got to go into the office, FBI office. I have to make a statement. Questions about how you feel about this war; which side you on. Then that time I already make a decision because I already have kids and the wife in the United States. They don't know anything about Japan. Since you have family and kids, you have to make a decision. You have to sacrifice yourself. That's why I say, 'Oh, heck. I'm going to stay.' So I made a statement that I like to see the United States win. But as far as this war goes, my personal feeling that it's a draw. No win and no lose. Because I already have kids, then I have third one already born; so I don't want the same thing I myself went through for my kids by always moving from this place and that. So I made the decision that I like to see the United States win this war. But my personal feeling is that if it is a draw--no win, no lose--then I am a happy man. I told that to the FBI; then I have to sign the doggone statement. Then December 24, 1941, Mike Masaoka wrote for my volunteer paper to serve in the United States Army. But I had dependents already so I got rejected.

Even though he declared his loyalty and support of the United States and chose to remain here, his personal feelings hoped for a "draw" for the war. No winner; no loser. That would have been the most ideal situation for him.

Oda-san was visiting his sister in San Jose when he heard the news of the Pearl Harbor bombing. He was drafted in October 1941 just shortly ahead of the declaration of

war and was assigned to Fort Roberts for basic training. That weekend was the first opportunity he had for a leave and he was visiting his sister in San Jose. He remarks,

> December 7. That's the first Sunday I had, ever since basic training started. First Sunday I had day off to come to San Jose to see my sister. Sister was working at the sweet shop. She used to sleep upstairs. I told my sister I was going to rest for a while and went upstairs to sleep on her bed. That's when the news came into the San Jose town. MAP (military police) came to pick up all the soldiers to go back to duty. Whoever was off duty was picked up. So when I came down to get ice cream or something, those *Issei no ojisan tachi* (those older Issei men) asked what I was doing there. "My day off," I said. I didn't know about Pearl Harbor. They told and said that the MP came and picked everybody up. Why didn't I get picked up? Because I was sleeping upstairs. They asked if I was going back to Camp Roberts. "What's the hurry," I said. (laughter). Then my friend came and took me to the station. My reaction was, *"Yatta na! Erai koto ni natta na!"* (They did it! Now the big trouble has started!).

But, before leaving San Jose, he and his Nisei friends were all refused service at a restaurant and banned from bowling, and this despite his being dressed in his military uniform. Upon arrival at Camp Roberts, all the Japanese American soldiers were relieved of their duties, quartered together in separate barracks, and all their weapons were confiscated. Only a few white soldiers reacted to them, but the Nisei soldiers were hastily transported to Del Mar just north of San Diego where they lived under the same conditions as the evacuees had--sleeping in converted horse stalls. They started feeling mounting frustration:

> At the beginning we did everything to prove we're Americans. Loyal. Any enemy come up, we're going to shoot them. Japanese, Italians, don't make any difference. We're going to protect this land. Meantime, Japanese get put into the horse stables. Rest of the soldiers in the barracks somewhere. Stuck in the stinking place! Then you have to follow their orders. Whatever you ask is denied. That keeps going on and on, and pretty soon I says enough is enough. If you don't trust us that much why

> can't we go home and be with sisters and brothers and parents? No, couldn't. You do as I say. And we get nothing but rotten jobs.

Finally, he and the other Nisei soldiers were reassigned to Fort Sam Houston in Texas. There they were assigned to a two story segregated barrack. He also met *Hayashi-san* at this military base. During this time of abusive meanness, he gave his sentiments over to Japan.

> To me, if you choose, somebody's got to lose. I thought for me, *Nihon ga kattara* (if Japan wins) I've got a better chance. Yeah, that's true. I think I may be different, especially *Nihon ni ittara* (if I go to Japan) I have all the pull. If my family in Japan was poor dirt farmer or worked for somebody, managing day to day life, then I don't know. But in my case, I'm sure if I went back, I had a good chance. I was hoping that they'd win.

He was then sent to Fort Snelling in Oklahoma where he worked first as a mail inspector of the letters for the prisoners in the stockade, and later, as a food inspector.

Oka-san was attending high school in San Francisco when the war started. He recalls:

> I felt disappointed. I got 'em in the wrong place. Caught in between. Because war started, my things in Japan. Then I stay in the United States. I should be in Japan. That's what I feel. I never feel loyal to United States, because I got so much education in Japan. Top of that, my family is there. Older brother and sister. Only thing, my mother and older sister was here.

A curfew was soon imposed in the city, from eight at night to six in the morning. He continues:

> Curfew. But I keep fooling around Japanese town and all over the place. I'm old enough. I was 18, 19, 20. I was renting a room. Mother was staying at Hakujin's place as a domestic. I'm independent. I don't feel I need anybody. I don't need anything . . . . Most of the Kibei went to the Sokoji (the Soto Zen Buddhist temple) on Bush street. Kibei club. A lot

> of stage shows and everything else. A social club. Men and women together. They don't have political stuff.

In May 1942, he and his mother, together with the other Japanese Americans in the San Francisco Bay Area, went to the Tanforan Assembly Center. They were there about six months before being assigned to the camp in Topaz, Utah.

Suda-san, rather than simply react to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, spoke about the curfew that was imposed on the Japanese Americans soon after the war began. The curfew reinforced his sense of being a second-class citizen:

> We were born here but we're not treated like a citizen, because when they put that kind of law--curfew--we're not treated like *Hakujin*. They think we're dangerous characters. So you figure that out. We can't say what we want to say. We just stay calm. We don't look for trouble. That's why when you're of a different race, we don't have the same rights like the *Hakujin* . . . . We were pushed down over here! I'm speaking for myself. I don't speak for somebody else.

The other participants did not express any thoughts or feeling about the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the beginning of World War II.

Wartime Experiences

The wartime experiences of the participants were varied. Only two spent the entire four years of the war incarcerated in concentration camps: one claimed his loyalty to Japan and the other resisted registering for the draft while in camp. Three of the participants were members of the armed services: one spent the entire time at Fort Sam Houston in Texas as a driver in a motor pool; another was a member of the military intelligence service and spent time in the Pacific theater; and the third participant

struggled continuously in the army. For his trouble he was court-martialed for insubordination and spent time in Leavenworth Prison at hard labor before being dishonorably discharged from the army. One participant worked for the government in the area of naturalization and immigration as a liaison between the evacuees and the government. The last participant did not spend the wartime in a concentration camp or in the military service because he lived in the "free zone" of Utah and Japanese American citizens there were immune from assignment to the concentration camps. He took over a laundry business in Salt Lake City for the Issei owners who were evacuated to camps. Thus, we see that the lives of the Kibei participants were varied and unique. The long unheard messages of their wartime experiences now have a voice.

Life in the Concentration Camps

After the Tanforan Assembly Center, *Oka-san* and his mother were assigned initially to the concentration camp at Topaz, Utah. Camp life provided a forum for the Kibei to express years of pent up frustration and anger over the unresolved pre-war conflicts between themselves and their Nisei or Issei counterparts. In his words:

> We had a baseball team. Of course, I'm on the Kibei baseball team . . . there's Nisei guys team too. Some Kibei is playing with the Nisei. Then always Kibei team start a fight. (laughter) Yeah. Sort of grudge against . . . when you are outside, just because Kibei people can't speak English, lot of Nisei mean guys tease'em and give'em a bad time. I didn't fight'em back when outside, but you go in the camp; it's all Japanese. Kibei guys get so strong and vicious; so every time, even when we have baseball, we have fights.

Later, when he was assigned to the Tule Lake camp, such fighting between the Kibei and Nisei continued. He comments:

> When we go to Tule Lake, getting worse. Kibei guys getting tough. More Kibei guys in Tule Lake because of segregation camp. No-no guys. When we start losing game, start fight. Aggressive. Pick on Nisei for nothing. When you're in the camp, Kibei guys got so powerful; they did a lot of mean things . . . Nisei got killed. One time I was in the auditorium and somebody stabbed the guy. This, the Kibei guy, did it too. So he went to jail. So beat up the guy too. I guess Kibei guy just blow up the head.

These comments reveal the intensity of the tensions that existed between Kibei and Nisei and how, at times, the tension exploded into harmful violence. The Kibei in the camps were "powerful" in that there were more Kibei congregated together and able to talk with one another about all their common experiences of denigration and abuse. At the same time, since they were generally older than the Nisei, they commanded more respect and authority. And in the narrow confines the hierarchy of the enclosed wartime world of the Japanese Americans, the Kibei enjoyed some small sense of decency and affirmation.

Oka-san completed his American high school education at the Topaz camp. In February 1943 the loyalty questionnaire was administered to all evacuees over seventeen years of age. His response to questions 27 and 28 were "No-no". He was then interrogated. He commented:

> I got nothing against the United States itself. But I'm pro-Japan. I said this in front of hearing. I figure Japan is going to win too. That's what I told the hearing board. I told them Japan was going to win. That time was 1943 and Japan was going Strong. They didn't like that kind of words. Then, I guess, lot of people scared to talk like that. But I'm not scared. So I just tell them off. I told them I'm loyal to Japan . . . I'm just pro-Japanese. Just like a Japanese soldier. Just stating a fact. Nothing against the United States. I can't hide. Lot of people just pretending to be loyal to United States, but I can't do that. So I just expressed my opinion.

This response led to his reassignment to Tule Lake, which had become a segregated camp for those whose sympathies were clearly with Japan. Here he and a group of his Kibei friends became involved with a pro-Japanese organization. He comments:

> I guess *Hoshidan* (the pro-Japanese group that was preparing to return and serve Japan) start forming six months later after I moved there. I joined first; they called that *Sokuji Kikoku Hoshidan*. We go right back and serve the country. We, all Kibei, went in together. As soon as we could go back to Japan we are ready to serve the country. That's the purpose. That's why we did some educational lecture and physical training.

He estimated that there were about 500 *Hoshidan* members, mostly Kibei men, ranging in age from 20 to 30. The most vocal extremists and public agitators were sent to more segregated camps such as in North Dakota. He comments:

> Once they segregate the people, I didn't like that. I just wanted to go back to Japan. I don't want to suffer myself just because of what I'm doing. So I just quit. I don't have to stay in the *Hoshidan*. I was young so why should I go to cold place. Tule Lake is more people and much more fun. Lot of social life there. Women and girls there. (laughter). North Dakota nothing. Practical reason. So I just quit.

When he quit the *Hoshidan*, he quit with 15 other Kibei friends. In this manner, they were able to counteract the pressure from other *Hoshidan* members. Later, he was called to the board that reviewed evacuees who wanted to renounce their citizenship and return to Japan. Although he did not personally apply to become a renunciant, he remarks:

> I don't even apply for renounciation. But renounciation board guy called me up. He said, "You used to be *Hoshidan*. Why don't you cut'em up in a bald head or something?" Then he seemed you should renounce the citizenship. I told him, "Why don't you give me the paper. I sign the paper. Renounce the citizenship. I don't need American citizenship." I

> told him. So I signed the paper. My citizenship is gone. So I don't even apply for it. But they just hold me up and sort of forced me to the position like that. Yeah. Talk nasty like that; I get mad. If you want me to sign, I sign'em. They want'em to renounce the citizenship and send'em back to Japan.

While in camp, even with renouncing his citizenship, he generally enjoyed his life. He says, "I had a pretty good time, but it's a waste of time." He worked as a garbage man while at Tule Lake for $16.00 a month. This was the monthly wage for all evacuee workers. He socialized frequently with other Kibei and enjoyed gambling, especially mahjong.

Oka-san and his Kibei friends knew that Japan was gradually losing the war and he told himself that probably none of them including himself was going back to Japan, but instead would return to California and find work. Thus, when Japan lost the war in 1945, he too "lost" his loyalty to Japan, as much as he thought he had been thoroughly indoctrinated in Japan as a student. He comments:

> I don't believe to kill myself. Lots of people did just because Japan lost the war. Lots of Japanese did. But I couldn't go that far. I guess after they lost the war, there's not much left on my whole idea. So I just want to work and try to make . . . if you're born as a human being maybe I raise a family. That's the main thing. Name or wealth, nothing. Sort of . . . it's all gone.

He adapted practically to the circumstances and moved on with his life. However, because of his pro-Japanese affiliation, he was detained after the war and did not return to California until 1947.

Suda-san was initially incarcerated with his wife and children at Rohwer, Arkansas. The feelings of injustice continued to grow. When the loyalty questionnaire

was administered he answered conditionally, "No-yes" to questions 27 and 28. He commented angrily:

> Injustice had already begun when we were evacuated. That's what *Nihonjin*'s been doing. Taking it and taking it. That's why I went to Tule Lake. Why do you think I went to Tule Lake for? That shows you how I was feeling, right? I was treated as foreigner. So if they treated me like this and even if the war ended, I might as well go back to Japan. Yeah. Because we were kicked around like foreigners. We were born here and have citizenship, but . . . . The most important thing was are you going to volunteer for the armed service? I said I will not because I have a family. I lost my citizen's rights. We were born here and rounded up and thrown in the assembly center in horse stalls. The place was not suited for human beings. And I said I will not volunteer. But if the enemy start to come here to the mainland then I will defend our country. Another part was are you going to be loyal to the United States? I said I am loyal to the U.S. But after I was discriminated and thrown into the camp, the Germans and Italians were still left out. See, they were in the war too.

At Tule Lake he learned the barber trade and he gave no thought to the way he might be treated if he went to Japan. His feeling was,

> Well, I'm *Nihonjin*. Japanese. I was mistreated more here. Japanese, Italian, and Germans. They were all in alliance. So if they were going to round people up, why couldn't they round up all those people together, like the Japanese? That's the most important thing for what I want to say.

Later, again he and others at Tule Lake received their draft notices. This time he decided to take a stand. He comments:

> I fought for it when they send me a draft notice in Tule Lake. So I said, "No!" I'm going to fight for this one. Well, I fought. There were other guys too. We got together. We went to Eureka. Pretty close to the Oregon border. Maybe Crescent City. Anyway, it was pretty close to the border. 27 guys. I remember how many got together. Inside the jail we had a tank. Maybe enough to just stand around. No windows or nothing. Just a door. And little air holes on top. It's round and that's why they called it a tank. We're not even criminals but they put us in those kinds of tanks. Worse than a cell.

He elaborates further:

> They took 27 guys out. Attorney made arrangements with each person as to how he felt. So I gave him my expression: "Germans and Italians were left out. Japanese are the only ones that were rounded up." He said, "You got a good point." That's how we won that case. In the jail, the eight foot wire mesh fence and on top of that, foot or foot an a half, barbed wire, leaning inside, not outside. For protecting us. That difference in leaning inward or outward; I told them it's not protecting us. That means you guys don't want us to go out. Don't want us to escape from the yard. I gave them all the details. I think we stayed there a couple of days till the court was finished. After that the court was dismissed. It came out in the Oregon newspaper. I think I saw it in camp. If we were wrong, they could draft us. They notified us to volunteer; just like drafting. But we won the case and the case was dismissed.

Suda-san and the twenty-six other evacuees stood on their constitutional rights and were exonerated from refusing the draft. For all the negative experiences during the wartime years, including this trial for resisting the draft, the effects of the outcome of this trial was positive. For the first time, in spite of the feelings of discrimination and injustice that affected his life, justice prevailed in the dismissal of the case. Without a doubt, this experience could give one a feeling of being somewhat in control of one's destiny.

Life in the Armed Services

While *Oda-san* he was at Fort Snelling in Oklahoma, his frustrations were escalating at how he and other Japanese Americans were being treated in the camps and in the service. At the same time, a recruiter from Fort Savage in Minnesota, the military intelligence school, had come to Fort Snelling to recruit bilingual Japanese and English speaking soldiers as language instructors or translators. He evidently passed the tests because he then went to Fort Savage, Minnesota. But, on the day of his arrival, his

frustrations boiled over and he rebelled at taking any further tests. He angrily confronted the Nisei soldier who administered the test and the confrontation resulted in his reassignment to Fort Leonard Wood in Missouri. He took nearly ten days to reach his destination and the authorities there were furious at what appeared to be his intentional delay.

Fort Leonard Wood, as he recalls, had nearly thirty other Kibei and Nisei soldiers. He comments:

> We did chopping wood, washing dishes and pots and pans. *Asoko de me mitai ni yakamashii, monku yu no ga* twenty-thirty *otta ne*. (There were about 20-30 guys like me who were noisy and complained). They (superiors) push us around. Then we had a bad corporal that take us to work. Everyday get dirty work. "You're a Jap. Write them up." I took it so many weeks. I got mad. His name was *nantoka* ski (somthing-ski). So I told him, "You god-damned Russian! Shut up! Don't call us like slaves. We're not slaves. We're soldiers, but it so happens we're of Japanese descent. That's why we get this kind of treatment. There's a limit to push us around." He didn't listen. That's why I wrote the letter to President Roosevelt. I got fed up. We did the best we could. I cannot take this anymore. So if you don't trust me that much--that time all the *Nihonjin* (Japanese) were in relocation centers--so you send me to where my sister is or any camp you tell us to go to. Tule Lake is a bad place, they said. Fine, that's all right. Why don't you do that. That kind of letter I wrote to Roosevelt.

This protest letter was the culmination of his frustrations of being mistreated and abused, not because he was a soldier, but because of his ancestry. He and seven other Kibei signed the protest letter to President Roosevelt. But in doing so, they risked signing away any gains they had made up to that time. He comments:

> First thing was court-martial . . . . So I knew it was a big deal. Besides us complaining, and we're soldiers, so *inochi gake yo* (risking our whole life). That's what it is. So these seven guys, *shindemo ii ka*? (are you ready to die?) We're not going to kill anybody or rape anybody or steal anything.

> We're just going to complain. One hundred percent complain. Then all up to them. Chances are punishment. Even if we get punishment, we did honestly. Honest complaint. Anyway, everybody says OK. So eight of us signed. Then *okutta* (sent it). *Sore wa itte nai kamo shiren* (It may not have reached its destination). *Sono bun wa* (Because) I didn't get that letter. Then court-martial. We were sent to *futsu no* (regular) stockade. Over month or two. We'd be collecting the ashes. When they said its too good to feed these Japs in the mess hall, we said, "Ok, we are not going to eat." So we fasted for one week . . . . Seventh day you don't care. You know why? You get clear mind. All your mind is clear. You could invent something. You could write stories. I wrote a lot of Japanese poems.

After they were court-martialed and found guilty of insubordination, they were placed in the stockade. He recalls the senior officers intimidating them:

> *Hajime, asokono* major and captain *ga* one by one, before they put us in the stockade, scare tactics; so you go back and forget what you did. Questions *ga okashii no wa* (questions that are inappropriate), "Do you die for Emperor Hirohito or Roosevelt?" That kind of questions. Like the loyalty questions. *Sorega motto aru wake yo* (there were more questions of the same nature). Quite a bit. Whole lot of things. I answered, "I die for anybody who treat me right. Whoever kick me, I don't die for him! I don't hate somebody to begin with. Trying to be friendly. Then hate may come afterwards. If I start hating him, it's my fault. I don't do anything but you guys hate me and pushing me around. Then I don't die for you!" Answer is clear. Then he says, "I'm asking you, which one?" "I just explained to you. You don't have to name anybody. You don't have to name Roosevelt or Hirohito. But anybody hate me or treat me bad, I don't die for him. Anybody treat me decently, I fight for him." *Ano toki ni* (at that time) if I said I'm sorry we did this, then I go back to shit detail again. Once you made up your mind enough is enough, I don't care what you do to me. He said even you die. Right even if I die.

At this point, his resolve was not to give up his life to anyone or any authority that mistreated him and abused him. He would die before giving his loyalty and life to anyone who did not respect him or treat him with dignity. He and his Kibei friends would remain loyal to the pact that they had made with one another. This shows vividly

what control theory states--no one can force anyone to do anything if that person refuses to do so. And people will die for certain principles (Glasser, 1984).

Several months later, he and his friends were sent to Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary in Kansas to serve the fifteen year sentence at hard labor that they received at their court martial. They actually spent nearly three years at Leavenworth from the beginning of 1944 to the end of 1946. He comments:

> We got away from hanging and firing squad. So the judge sentenced us to fifteen years in hard labor. That's why we got all those rock piles, railroad, shovel the coals. *Honto ni kangae ba bakarashii mono yo* (when you really think about what we had to do, it is stupid). Railroad tracks and rails, you just take it off and put it back on. Parking lot, it's not a parking lot; just a lot. For the punishment. You know the jackhammer? You just tear it up and just crush them. Dump truck will not come over here; waits over there. Cement *dakara* (because its) dusty. We have handkerchief over our nose. Then we shovel it into the truck all day long. You can't talk, because if you do you inhale all the dust. It's not ordinary rock. It's cement. So when they crush that it's like a foggy day. You cough once in a while. That's about it. You don't talk. So it's real hard labor.

This sentencing to hard labor also made it difficult to report sick. He comments:

> If somebody gets sick there is no sick call. It doesn't matter what you complain about; what you get is aspirin. Yeah. You're in prison. Every time you get sick, they think you're here to make excuses. You don't want to work. But I doubt if any of the eight of us made a sick call. We stick it out. You know how *Nihonjin* (Japanese) is. *Makeru monka* (I won't be defeated)! More you get punished, the more stubborn you get.

He and his friends refused to be defeated, regardless of how humiliating and difficult the tasks became. Their resolve became stronger. Once again, as in control theory, no one can force human beings to behave because they are internally motivated. Their story is illustrative of the impotency of coercive tactics as a method of control or "motivation." (Glasser, 1990, Deming, 1982).

> They give you jobs that little *Nihonjin* (Japanese) can't do these things; too heavy. You know half a beef or half a pig? They come in with the freight. Two big Kuronbo (black people) stand by and put them on our shoulders. We got to go upstairs to the freezer. And if you get into the freezer later, two Kuronbo pick these off. I dropped the beef a few times on the steps. You're going up; you just can't make it, so you let it go. Bang! Guard says go down and put it on your back again. There's no excuse. Try again. Pig. Slippery, you know. (laughter). You don't think of balance. You like to get it as high as possible, because if you get it on your back it's too damn heavy. So you got it on your neck and grab two legs. The whole pig is on back of you. Greasy! You take a shower but is doesn't come off. Your clothes! You touch the pig all day long, you just can't wash the smell off. Again, if we do it, we get used to it. We get the laundry back. They give you the same clothes with which you touched the pig. To other people it stinks. To us, not much. So it's all hard labor. Everyday we had to do it. Pick, shovels, sledge hammers.

Oda-san remembers graphic details of the taunts, shame, and abuse he confronted as his captors insisted on hard labor. Other prison incidences added to the sufferings of this period: the nervous breakdown of one of the seven Kibei; becoming a near victim of prison rape until he received the protection of a gangster leader who be-friended him; and empathizing with the injustices brought upon Nisei draft resisters from the Heart Mountain camp in Wyoming who were also imprisoned at Leavenworth.

Finally, after nearly three years of this horrible prison routine, the war ended and all Nikkei received unconditional amnesty and released. And before their release, they were given a choice either to re-enlist for two more years culminating in an honorable discharge, or being released then and there with a dishonorable discharge. Seven of the eight Kibei at Leavenworth, including *Oda-san*, were thoroughly exhausted from their despicable prison life and they simply wanted to go home. They settled for dishonorable discharges and one re-enlisted for two more years.

Hayashi-san, like *Oda-san*, was drafted into the Army in 1941 prior to Pearl Harbor. He too was sent to Fort Sam Houston in Texas in 1942. However, unlike *Oda-san*, his wartime life was spent totally at Fort Sam Houston. Even while serving in the Army, he initially wanted Japan to win the war, but his feelings gradually changed.

> First, *yappari Kibei dakara, Nihon ga katte hoshi na. Kimochi dake dewa omotte ita ga.* Later on, come to think, *yappari bokura wa* U.S. *ni orun kara, Nihon wa dameda na to jibunra mo omotta shi. Kaette, Nihon ga makete yokatta na to omotta shi. Are ga katte oreba, bokura wa Kibei de arinagara,* U.S. *no nani ni haitte iru shi; donna koto ni natte iru ka wakaran shi. Atokara kangaete mitara, yappari Amerika ga katte yokatta na to omoi mashita ne. Mo, dakara shimai no*, I say two years *gurai wa, mo dodemo ii yo na kimochide; tada, sono hino shigoto o shittotara mo sorede ii to omotte imashita ne.* (First of all, being a Kibei I felt I wanted Japan to win the war. Later on, come to think of it, I thought since we were in the United States Japan was not good. In other words, I thought it was good that Japan lost the war. If Japan had won the war, we as Kibei who are also in the armed services, may have been subjected to unforeseen things. When I thought about this later I was glad that America won the war. That is why during the last two years of the war, I wasn't involved either way, but I only thought it was enough to just take care of each day's work.)

His primary concern was the war and the status of the Japanese Americans being incarcerated in the ten camps, especially as it related to his own family. The Nisei and Kibei soldiers who were assigned to Fort Sam Houston often talked and argued about their lot as well as the lot of their families in the various camps. Tension between the Nisei and Kibei was noticeable for about a year, but the tensions gradually dissipated as both sides came to understand each other's point of view.

Hayashi-san himself settled into working in the motor pool for the four years he spent at Fort Sam Houston. Although his contact with *Hakujin* was minimal prior to the war, he became cognizant of the racial discrimination and segregation at the base where

no mixing of racial groups was permitted. The barracks were segregated for African Americans, Mexicans, Japanese and Caucasians. Fort Sam Houston was an induction center, so many people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds were processed. This was also the first time he came into direct contact with African Americans and he was truly shocked at the savage discrimination against them:

> Colored people *wa minna* everything *betsu yo ne*. Mess hall *kara*. Bus *ni noru no demo*. *Heitai no naka de* same thing. *Jibun demo bikkuri shimashita yo. Watashi tachi mo kawaii so datta kedo ne. Shikashi*, in a way, *ayu tokoro ni kite wakaranai kedo, yappari kuronbo wa kuronbo da no to omou yo na koto ga arimashita*. Well, living *ga zen zen chigau no. Shoshite suru koto ga toki doki kitanai*. (Colored people are all separate in everything. In the mess hall and even on the buses. It is the same in the army. Even I was shocked, even though we were in a sorry situation. However, in a way, after coming to the place but not fully understanding, there were times when I thought that they were, after all, colored people. Well, their living is completely different. And some of the things they do are at times dirty.)

He comments further:

> *Doyu fu ni yutara ii ka ne? Daiichi, kotoba ga chigau desho. Hanashi kata ga ne. Sorekara, yappari, muko mo enryo surun desho kedo; arera ga sumai ni shite iru toko made haite minai kedo; chanto train station ni ittemo, Kuronbo ga suwaru tokoro to benjo wa betsu. Sore kara coffee nomi ni iku tokoro mo betsu. Dakara sonna koto o mite kawaiso ni mo atta yo ne.* (How can I say it? First of all, their language is different; the way they speak. Then, of course, may be they hesitate to invite others to their residence which I myself have never entered; but even in the train station, the toilet and their seating area are segregated. Even in terms of where they could have coffee. That is why when I saw their situation I really felt sorry for them.)

Thus, while serving at Fort Sam Houston, he was appalled at the discriminatory treatment of African Americans and also saddened by it. These experiences broadened

his own sense of the prevalence and destructiveness of racial discrimination towards minorities in America.

He also experienced near court martial by superiors for minor infractions. Finally, he and the other Nisei soldiers came under the supervision of a Colonel of German ancestry. He felt that a sense of spontaneous alliance between them, a parallel alliance to the agreement Japan and Germany had at that time. This feeling was not uncommon among many Nisei who felt close to Americans of German descent. The Colonel supervised and guided the Nisei soldiers during the war. In this way, he felt very loyal to the Colonel.

While serving at Fort Sam Houston, he also was married in 1944. He says, "Because I know I'm not going to go outside the United States; that's why I got married." His Nisei wife came from Topaz in Utah to marry him. They lived at Fort Sam Houston until the war ended.

Wada-san, during the war, worked for the government as a liaison and interpreter. When the loyalty questionnaire was initially administered, he answered "Yes-yes" to questions 27 and 28, but conditionally. He comments;

> The evacuation is not the right thing. I was mad too. On the questionnaire I answered 'yes-yes', but said that I should be treated as rest of American citizen. So if I get the same fair treatment, I will be one hundred percent loyal to the United States. Then the government asked me to take that home to get the government job. So later I took that provision off and I got the job.

He worked for the government in security as an interpreter and censor of letters and literature that would enter the camp. He comments about his work:

> Censor and interpreter. Censor would check all the letters and literature. They had thirteen regulations. For example, in the letters you cannot mention anyone's name. Books against the U.S. Every time they bring in Japanese books, we had to go through censorship. Check the incoming letters, and if they were against regulations, I had to cut that off and translate the whole thing.

He was quite aware of many unspoken feelings regarding the responses to the loyalty questionnaire amongst the evacuees. He recalls:

> Lot of people felt it at that time. You cannot show at that time because of the group. They cannot show their own feelings. That was one of my jobs. I go around and tell everybody that now is the time to change your mind and have the guts to show your own feelings. Lot of people hesitate so they would say if I say that my family would be disgraced. They want to come out and say, but they won't do that. That was my job.

When he was assigned to work at Tule Lake he encountered hard feelings from some evacuees, even some who were his friends.

He recalls:

> The government treated me as an American. No discrimination. But I see a lot of friends on the other side of the fence. They call me *inu* (literally, 'dog'; but in the context of camp life *inu* refers to a traitor) . . . . Well, of course, when I first got the job I didn't expect to see my friends on the other side of the fence. But I was assigned there and can't help. But some people understand and some people don't. Some Kibei people understand.

This work caused him to perceive the Kibei in a new and different way. Until then he really was not aware of the Kibei as being unique from the Nisei. He recalls:

> I understand more clear the Kibei's mind during wartime. Until then I didn't know Kibei was different from Nisei. I mean how different I didn't know. But during the wartime when I got job, I see Kibei is quite different from Nisei. Some is good and some is bad.

He came to see that there were two general types of Kibei in his mind:

> *Flexible na Kibei wa America to Nihon o bridge suru shigoto o dekiru shi. Flexible de nai Kibei wa . . . narrow na mind . . . Issei mo, Nisei mo, America jin, dare mo wakaranai yo na mind ga aru no ne.* (The flexible Kibei can work to bridge America and Japan. The non-flexible Kibei is narrow minded. It is a kind of mind that neither Issei, Nisei or American can understand.)

He was not, however, the only Kibei engaged in such work for the government. Many were involved with similar work for the government:

> *Ma, ano senjichu wa daigaku yara*, army *nanka no Nihongo no sensei shitari*; interpreter *shitari--ironna soyu shigoto shita no wa minna Kibei yo ne.* Then soldier *natte soshite* front line *de* interpreter *suru no mo Nisei to Kibei ga* team *ni natterun da ne. Soshite honto no nani suru no wa, tsuyaku suru no wa,minna Kibei ga yatta no. Soshite sore o* type *shitari, irronna* English *ni tsukutte* report *suru no wa Nisei ga. Ma, Kibei mo yatta hito ga aru daro. Dakara daitai minna* team *ni nattoru ne, Kibei to Nisei to. Soyu tokoro de yappari . . . dakedo*, most of the case, Nisei got the credit. *Kibei ga shigoto shite.* (Well, during the war, they were Japanese language teachers in the colleges and the army; they also were interpreters. All these kinds of work were done by Kibei. Then the Kibei and Nisei soldiers worked as a team as interpreters on the front line. The Kibei primarily did the interpreting. The typing into reports in English were done by the Nisei. Well, there may have been Kibei who also typed the reports in English. Well, generally, the Kibei and Nisei worked as a team. But in that situation and, in most cases, the Nisei got the credit.)

He further remarks:

> Because Kibei *ga . . .* expression *ga heta desho; ma, hanashide wa* English *o hanashite iru kedo.* Order *sare tara*, answer *suru dake no Kibei de; honto no* socialize *shita* English *no* conversation *wa* poor *kara, doshitemo* Nisei got the credit. *Sore demo, minna damatte yatte kitoru kara, Kibei wa erakatta to omou. Sore, zuuto gaman shite kitoru ne.* (The Kibei is poor at expressing himself in English. He may be speaking English in conversation and can answer when ordered to do so. But since his conversational English is poor in social situations, it is not unusual for the Nisei to get the credit. Yet, in spite of that, they quietly fulfilled their tasks and in that way they worked hard. They have endured a lot throughout their lives.)

Wada-san speaks proudly, not of himself, but collectively about the Kibei. He feels they have accomplished much, almost always without receiving external accolades, by quietly enduring and overcoming many obstacles throughout their lives.

He also clearly remembered his feelings when the war ended, and how his sentiment may have also reflected the feelings of the Kibei in general. He comments:

> Basic mind *wa ne* can't change. I never wished Japan to be defeated. America *maketemo hoshiku nai* (Neither did I want America to lose). *Japan mo makete hoshiku nai* (Nor did I want Japan to lose). I was working for the government, and then *minna hattarai teru hito wa minna* America-*jin desho* (everyone who was working there were Americans). VJ day *no toki* (at time of), '*waaaa*!' Everybody happy and shake hand *suru kara ne* (are shaking hands). I think I was working there as an American. So *minna to* shake hand *shite hanashita kedo* side *ni itte naite ita* (I shook hands with everyone and talked with them, but then I stepped to the side and cried). *Sore mo ne, ano* feeling *wa yappari kaerare nai ne* (the sense was that I cannot really change my feelings). *Moshi Kibei de* (If I am a Kibei), well, I'm American citizen so America *ga katte* (so America wins), America n*o hito ni Nihon ga maketara ii to ittara, uso yo* (and I say to the American people that it is good that Japan lost; such a statement is a lie). Most Japanese Kibei, whether working for the U.S. government or U.S. side, still you love Japan.

He firmly believes that he and Kibei in general, regardless of whether one works for the U. S. government or not, continues to love Japan. This love affirms their self-identity as Japanese, no matter what the outer circumstances may be. This identity is strongly rooted in the family and the values that uphold it.

Fujimoto-san, his wife and family were initially incarcerated at Topaz, Utah. He worked as executive secretary of the community council and was then recruited to do intelligence work for the War Department. His job was primarily as a translator, working in secrecy with a group of about twenty other translators. He recalls:

> About fifteen or twenty. Any kind of captured material they brought it there and we had to translate. The work was supposed to be white propaganda. You tell the Japanese you are losing and the war lord is directing you and telling you lies. You people are fighting a losing cause. So give up and don't follow the orders of Tojo. Surrender. Lay down your weapons. I heard they dropped them in Japan.

Then in the winter of 1944 he volunteered to work in the Pacific theater. Japan was losing the war and hostilities were gradually coming to an end. He comments:

> From Catalina Island we are called . . . . Catalina Island *kara* (from) we were put on a transport plane from Los Angeles and went to Australia. And we did some work there. Especially captured soldiers we interviewed them. Then pretty soon the war ended. So later on we had to fly back to Washington DC and got another assignment to Japan.

Until the war ended he was interrogating Japanese prisoners of war in Australia and also in India. With Japan's loss of the war, he was reassigned to Japan to be part of the occupational forces. There he was involved in conducting a "moral" survey:

> Yeah. Flew over because they needed us in a hurry. Assignment was in Japan. It was a moral survey we had to do . . . . There were plenty of questions. We had to follow the questionnaire. Moral so, *senso ga owatte kara* (after the war ended), do you feel better or worse? That kind of questions. And while the bombing was going on, what did you do? How did you feel? And, at that time, already our soldiers in Japan. How did you feel about the soldiers? Everybody's different. But they suffer so much because of tortuous killing and lost relatives. So they were relieved when the war ended. It was interesting though because we sent here and there. Especially I was from Fukuoka. So they sent me to Fukuoka. So I could understand their slang. They didn't feel suspicious or anything against us.

After nearly six months in Japan, he returned to the United States. This was in February 1946.

Life in "Free Zone."

Shima-san and his family continued their life in Salt Lake City during the war. In spite of Utah being a "free zone," all Japanese Americans were subject to curfews, traveling restrictions, and were prohibited from assembling or having group meetings without the permission of the district attorney. Although they were not incarcerated in the concentration camps, ironically the Japanese Americans in the "free zone" were as captive as those in the camps.

The Eagle Laundry, where *Shima-san* worked as a bookkeeper, was a Japanese corporation headed by Issei businessmen. When the war started, the Issei owners who were active as leaders in the Japanese Association were immediately incarcerated because of their perceived influence on the community. *Shima-san*, his brother, and his brother-in-law were charged to keep the business going with him selected as head of the operation. It was difficult, but they persevered:

> I was the head man, but if I was crooked enough I could have owned the doggone place, because all the Issei brought their stocks and signed it over to me. They think they're Issei and they'll lose the whole thing. But I say, 'Hold it. Hold it. Worse happens; worse happens. Everybody in the same boat, so hold on to it.' But if I'm crooked I could have took that place, but I didn't. Then one year this corporation operate by cash basis. They didn't stop our business, but they stopped our funds; checking account so we operate by cash basis. Then we have about twenty five or twenty six *Hakujin* girls working. Every week we pay everything by cash. Then profits hidden all over the laundry. Then one year later, finally they realize, so give us . . . we have to apply for operating expense, then we could write that much check out.

In spite of the restrictions at times, they were able to maintain as successful business. *Shima-san* himself did not have any anti-American sentiments, but he was

aware of the prevalence of anti-Japanese feelings. He heard about this especially from his *Hakujin* friends. As a result, he comments:

> I think all of the Nisei living in the Salt Lake area, they're pretty quiet. They don't make noise; stay pretty low.

And in spite of the wartime conditions, his general observation of the *Hakujin* in the area was:

> In fact, more *Hakujin* actually helped Japanese people more than they did against them.

Thus, his wartime experience as well as those Japanese Americans in Salt Lake City, in general, were quite different from the evacuees who were incarcerated in the ten camps throughout the Western states.

CHAPTER VII

POST WORLD WAR II TO PRESENT

This chapter discusses the lives of the participants since the end of World War II to the present. The experiences and reflections of the participants reveal an on-going concern with prior issues in their lives and a guarded optimism of the future. The participants' self-identity remained constant and consistent with their traditional values and beliefs.

Life After the War

Oka-san's reflections on his life after the war reveal that in terms of his self-identity, he is rooted in the Japanese way of life as he was raised. He says, "I'm proud of myself and my Japanese way of living . . . . I like to follow tradition." His main purpose was his focus on the family, especially in educating his children:

> That's my main purpose. That's the main thing I worked myself like a slave all my life trying to make enough money to educate my kids. I don't make money for myself. That's not main purpose.

He feels disappointment with his children because they did not complete their education through college. He feels one of the reasons for this failure is that they were unable to learn the Japanese way of life which he values more than the American way of life:

> Like, for example, children and parents, there is a different relation in the Japanese way and the American way. Japanese think parents and both kids have to follow the order. But American people just like friends.

> Friends to each other. I don't want to be friends with my kids. I like to have some kind of discipline. Hit 'em on the head. I used to do that but toward the end I can't do that. Kids get too big. That's trying to get the same education I get in Japan. Discipline. Well, you can't change own children's personality. Just because I do so much training, they're not going to follow whole thing. They got own personality. Can't help it.

His perception of the parent-child relationship in the Japanese way of life is hierarchical, with the parent as authority and children as the ones to be disciplined. He views that this style is in conflict with the more egalitarian style of American life. In spite of this conflict he says, "I guess I'm satisfied the way I raised my kids, but only thing is dissatisfied is the way my kids grow up."

He is relatively satisfied with his own life after the war, but he still has feelings of regret and resentment:

> . . . satisfied with my life. Only thing is my lack of education. That's the only thing. Dissatisfied, but I didn't have a chance. In fact, my Japanese education on minus side to my life. I'm so behind language wise.

He attributes part of the reason for his lack of education to his mother, but primarily to the war.

His advice to other Japanese American youth is to become educated to get a good job and also to learn the Japanese culture. He says, ". . . you have to follow through the Japanese culture. That's made the Japanese people great. I guess most of Japanese trying so hard." He also stressed the importance of respecting parents and thereby creating harmony within the family. Stressing individual rights within the family will not promote harmony. He continues to uphold what is "best as a typical Japanese ancestry, whatever I

do. That's the way I'm trying to show that to all other races. I don't want to show the bad Japanese influence to any other race."

Finally, his relationship with Caucasians is still somewhat cautious and distant. He comments:

> I don't have prejudiced feelings, but some way, in the deep, I cannot talk. I mean I cannot associate too deeply somewhere. I could go to some party and wedding, but I cannot associate too deeply. My deep feeling is a Japanese way, I guess.

Psychologically, this may mean that the introverted style of keeping feelings to oneself that is cultivated in the normal course of the Japanese way of life is not readily accessible to the extroverted style of self-expression found in American life.

Oda-san, after the war, longed to see his family and friends in Japan, especially his grandmother. However, with his marriage and subsequent birth of his children, as well as caring for his ailing and frail in-laws, the situation prevented him from going to Japan for many years.

Oda-san's reflections on his life after the war related to his marriage in 1947, his longing to see his grandmother which he was unable to fulfill before she died, keeping check of his feelings regarding his wartime experience in prison, and his feelings about *Hakujin*. His feelings about his mistreatment during the war remain strong:

> We don't feel shame because we didn't kill anybody. We didn't steal anything. In fact, we didn't even fight. We just asked for our rights. And one day they interrogated us. It's the same thing. We just kept asking for our rights. You guys are wrong. Major and Colonel still didn't see that they were wrong. We're not wrong. So if you have to punish us, I can't help it. You guys are wrong. Some day this will come up somewhere. You just can't hide, even if it was to eight of us. Now I meet Nisei who

> were in penitentiary together. I see them in town. "Hey, how're you doing? You're all right?" That's about it . . . Nobody wants to talk about the past because it gives you more pain. You suffer so much. That comes back to you. *Yappari* (After all) you get angry and sad. You can't get mad all the time.

But this feeling remains. He says further:

> My point was I don't have to broadcast. Somebody already knows. They know. Of course, when I go to town lots of guys see me and they know where I was. And if they mention it, fine. If they don't mention it, fine. I never mentioned it. And I just kept it to myself. The only people I talked to were my kids, but I never told them what I went through. Rock pile and all that stuff. They know what prison is. So I said I went through the shit. They know.

The sense of mistreatment and injustice, however, explodes from his feelings as previously documented. The anger is projected on to *Hakujin*, in general. He had even gotten angry at the *Hakujin* friends of his children in the past. He doesn't trust *Hakujin*. He comments:

> You get pushed around so much. You lose your trust. *Imade mo* (Even now) I don't trust *Hakujin* one hundred percent. I got my eyes open. *Nihonjin dattara* (If it was Japanese) somehow I just trust. Even if you cheat me, I trust.

This feeling of injustice and victimization is a real point of reference in the on-going inner tension in his life after the war. His feelings regarding *Hakujin* are not uncommon amongst Kibei and Nisei of his generation. These feelings may also be commonly shared by other ethnic and racial minorities in the United States.

Suda-san, after the war and to this day, harbors mistrust of *Hakujin,* not all, but some *Hakujin*. He recalled the discrimination he and his brother experienced in 1946 in San Francisco:

> My brother and I looked around for a house and went to a soda fountain in a drug store on Sacramento and Fillmore. We sat there and waited for service. But I noticed right away the prejudice because they didn't serve us. *Kuronbo* (African Americans) or *Hakujin* would come in after we were sitting there got served. I said, "Let's go out. This place is not for us."

On the other hand, he is pleased that he was able to join the AFL-CIO after the war. Before the war no Japanese Americans were allowed to join the unions. But being able to join the union and work at Simmons Mattress Company raised his self-esteem. He comments;

> The union. So they were pretty good. AFL-CIO were also prejudiced before the war. But they changed their attitude after the war. That's why they started hiring us Orientals. Chinese were already working a year or two before we did. They opened up the opportunity. But the union I have to go along. They were pretty good. They treat me nice. That's why I work there thirty-three years. If it was bad, I wouldn't have put my time in.

What he values highly from his life experiences is *gaman,* the capacity to endure hardships in the face of adversity and overcome them. Endurance, perseverance, patience--all describe this sense of *gaman.* He comments:

> *Gaman.* Not just Japanese, but for all races. Perseverance is, is most important. *Gaman* was just like when we had to evacuate. That's part of it. We could say something but we didn't. But now JACL is fighting for redress. That's part of *gaman*, see. It's blooming now. It means we've been respected as citizens. We have to get the black mark off our record as citizens.

And lastly, he is proud that he and his wife have fulfilled their roles as parents and have seen their children educated. He proudly comments:

> Well, I want to state that Suda family, we worked pretty hard and raised kids all up to standard. So we're happy about that. Yeah. Wife and I are

> proud. Educated and know what's going on in society. But with education you can fight back than without it.

Hayashi-san's reflections reveal a respect for traditional Japanese values of respect for elders and respect for others. He also is proud of his life as a Japanese, i.e., living with traditional Japanese values. He is not defensive about the status of men versus women, as he readily shares responsibilities equally with his Nisei wife. He also acknowledges his English language limitations, but it has not hindered his will to succeed and provide for his family.

His comments in terms of respect for elders:

> *Ma, toshiyori o daijini suru to yu koto wa, mo chisai toki kara. Donna hito demo, jibun yori toshi ue o hito wa, yappari, hayaku ie ba, saki ni umareteru kara, yokei nanmo shitteru wake dakara;* especially, *toshiyori no hito nanka o donna koto ga attemo, yappari daijini shi nya nakereba naran to yu kimochiwa itsumo motte imashita.* (To care for elders has been part of my life since childhood. Regardless who the person is, if that person is older or born before you because they know more than you, you must take care of that person. Especially the feeling that I must take care of the elders has always been with me).

And in terms of respecting others, he related:

> I don't know about other people; *hito ni mo hanasu kedo, hito ni yakkai ni naran yo ni kiotsuke naranai kedo, itsu donna koto ga aru ka wakaran. Kara*, maybe someday, *hito no yakkai ni naran kamo wakaran kara; dakara dekiru koto wa shite age totta ho ga, jibun no toku ni naru to, boku wa itsu mo soyu kimochi o motte iru kara. Hito no yakkai ni naru no wa yoku nai kedo, yappari nama mi dakara itsu donna koto ga aru ka. Ma, sore ga Nihon* style *desho yo*. (I don't know about other people, but sometimes I say to others that although we must be careful not to become a burden or troublesome for others, we don't know what kinds of thing may occur. Maybe someday we may have to depend on others, and so it is best do what we can when we can for others. This will be beneficial of oneself. I always have this feeling. Although it is not good to be dependent on others, but since we are but flesh and blood we don't know what may happen to us. I guess this is Japanese style).

These values of respect for elders and others are strongly rooted in the Japanese life of *amae* and *enryo* (Doi, 1962, 1973). For this reason, whatever responsibility and obligation, *giri* and *on* (Kitano, 1969), that need to be fulfilled must be fulfilled. *Hayashi-san* has been placed in the role, one of care giver and head of the family, at an early age in Japan. In this sense, his self-identity is clearly based on the values as practiced in Japanese life and culture. And after the war, these values were clearly lived as he took on the responsibility with his wife to care for her parents until their death.

Wada-san's reflection on his life as a Kibei as well as Kibei in general proved to be insightful. He analyzed that prior to World War II when Japan was on the rise militarily, many Kibei felt that Japan was their home more than the U.S. That feeling seemed to be quite strong. Then, during the war and immediately after the war, as an American citizen, the Kibei was able to utilize his knowledge and experience of both Japanese and American life. He was able to make contributions to America in many different ways. He endured (*gaman*) many obstacles and often worked in the shadows without much recognition or acknowledgment. He comments:

> *Ima ni natte mo Kibei to yu no wa, hijoni ii shigoto o shite America no tame ni natta to omotteru ne* (Even today Kibei are making positive contributions to America, I think). I respect now, Kibei.

He thinks that there was a change in the Kibei's attitude from the time prior to the war to the end of it and later. The change especially affected those Kibei who realized that they carried the dual feelings of the sorrow of not wanting to see Japan lose the war; yet, at the same time, knowing the necessity of having to contribute to the progress of

America as a responsible citizen. The Kibei who often held such feelings contributed positively to the redevelopment of the Japanese American community. He comments:

> *Senso ga sunde camp kara dete kite, soshite* Japanese community *o mata* establish *shite tsukuri agete itta no ga, Kibei no chikara ga daibun oki katta to omou. Kibei ga kanari me ni mienai tokoro ni shigoto shite iru to omou.* (I think that after the war, Kibei contributed greatly to the re-establishment of the Japanese community. I think they worked in many different ways to contribute with hardly any recognition).

He feels that the Kibei not only contributed immediately after the war, but they still have much to contribute to the development of the Japanese American community. They are no longer "outsiders" or "marginal" within their own community as they were. Unlike being an island unto itself in the ocean of its community, they are now an integral part of the Japanese American community itself. And even if they continue to have difficulties with the English language at times, their points of discussion are often clear and succinct.

In the above context, *Wada-san* sees the Kibei's role as one of being a "bridge" between both the Japanese and American culture. He says, "Kibei has to do a lot of things from now because so many people come from Japan." Kibei and Nisei are integrated in sharing the leadership in the on-going development of the Japanese American community. And since the community does not communicate totally in English, but often cultivates communication in Japanese, the Kibei are, as he says, *"tsukai yasu"* (easy to use) for many activities and functions. With this sense of being a "bridge," *Wada-san* developed his Japanese food business with great success after the war.

Shima-san, living in Utah, feels that the social conditions for the Japanese Americans have changed for the better since the end of the war. He feels that the overt forms of racism towards the Japanese Americans have greatly lessened since his experiences in pre-war United States. He comments:

> When I came back from Japan, they always and some families say, "Jap, Jap, Jap." You don't hear that word anymore, very seldom. If somebody say Jap, then somebody always make a stink about the word, and they fight. I don't see any discrimination now. When I came to the United States the first time, I came around the place on the West Coast: "Japs stay out! Japs not accepted!" When you in restaurant you don't get served. That thing is gone. You don't find that anymore, right?

He especially hopes that his children and grandchildren will not have to endure the kinds of racial discrimination he had experienced:

> What I face during my growing time to present, I got into a lot of problems, of discrimination. Called a Jap. Alien land law. Or you can't go some place as Hakujin. You face those kinds of things. And I faced all those kinds of things. But as long as your kids, grandkids--those people--don't face it; what else can you ask? That's my feeling.

His hope is that his children and grandchildren will continue to become even more a part of mainstream America and that they will not have to experience and endure further acts of racial discrimination. In large part, he feels his children and grandchildren have assimilated well into American life and that they themselves have not been moved from relative to relative as he was in his youth. The stability of his family is of primary concern and he wants them to avoid the continual loneliness he felt throughout his life and still embraces today.

Lastly, *Fujimoto-san*'s post-war life was not recorded and documented in terms of his reflections on his continued personal development. Only a cursory portrait of his

business and involvement in the Japanese American community was recorded. He was active in the Buddhist community, the JACL, the sister city program between Oakland and Fukuoka, and the Fukuoka prefecture club. He still participates actively in the development of the Japanese American community and as *Wada-san* has done, he too served as a "bridge" after the war in reestablishing and redeveloping the Japanese American community in the East Bay.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter provides a summary of the findings of this study, a discussion of the conclusions of the findings and recommendations from the findings. The recommendations have implications for service providers, policy makers and educators.

Summary

The Kibei have faced a complex set of interacting problems during the course of their life in both Japan and in the United States. They manifest a unique life experience in that they were born in the United States, but were raised and educated in Japan, then returned to the United States prior to World War II. They were of dual citizenship and blurred and ambiguous cultural identity. And though they were Americans by birth, they possessed the characteristics of a "new immigrant group" (McWilliams, 1944:321). They were a "minority within a minority" (ibid: 322) in their own Japanese American community, especially before and during World War II. They are documented sparsely by social scientists and described in a cursory fashion by other writers of Japanese American history. No studies, however, have been documented of the Kibei from their own perspective. They have not been able to define themselves. In fact, there seem to be a paucity of studies on the Kibei of whatever persuasion (Hansen & Mitson, 1974).

How the Kibei perceive themselves is not only of interest in its own right, but can be related to other ethnic and racial minorities' definitions of themselves in this society as

well. The findings of this study can be useful for educators, policy makers, program developers and other service providers working with minorities, especially Asian-American minorities. How one sees self-identity through one's self-concept is important because the way in which people perceive themselves will be translated into actions which reflect the way a person functions in society. People's self-identity also influences the way in which people evaluate themselves, fulfill self-actualization, and adjust to the external world (Foster & Perry, 1982).

How the Kibei perceived themselves was especially important because it provided an opportunity to hear their "'unheard voices' and to save and project these voices, granting them the credibility they deserve, and the prestige that comes from the written word" (Ada, 1993).

This research was conducted to explore how a group of seven Kibei men defined themselves. Only men were selected to provide them the voice to respond to the negative implications in the literature that "Kibei men have had problems throughout their lives" (Maykovich, 1972:84). The methodology used was participatory research incorporating the phenomenological existential approach in the dialogical process through which the Kibei were able to reflect upon their life experiences and hopefully arrive at a new level of self-understanding.

Conclusions

Results of the Study

This study of the self-identity of Kibei men was conducted to hear their "unheard voices" and learn about this sub-group of Japanese American men who have been neglected in the social science literature, especially those involving Japanese American history.

Participatory research was used as the methodology for studying and examining these marginal members deemed a "minority within a minority" who have not had the opportunity to be heard from their own unique perspective. The dialogical approach was effective in involving these men in the research process. This type of qualitative research study is most useful to understand and uncover ways in which historical and cultural dimensions affect the life of these men.

This study was designed to answer three main questions:

1. How does the Kibei male define himself in American life and society today?
2. How does his self-concept relate to his self-identity and the way he functions in society?
3. How do his reflections on his self-identity relate to society's understanding of ethnic and racial minorities?

The results of this study support Heidegger's (1962, 1971) contention that temporality with its three elements of a past, present and future life of an individual, provides the continuous connectedness of a person in the world. This phenomenon Heidegger (1962) has called *Dasein* which refers to the process of being in the world with

the world and with others to apprehend the possibility of becoming. This refers to the ontological process of being in the world in an historical and socio-cultural perspective.

The way in which the Kibei men define themselves in this study convey their own interpretation of their *dasein*. This refers to a mode of being in the world with others in the Japanese and American society. The temporality of past, present and future in which the participants' self-identity evolves is found in the unique historical context of pre-World War II, World War II, and post-World War II. This context provides a useful frame of reference in studying the Japanese American experience, especially that of the Kibei.

In pre-World War II, the participants defined themselves as children and adolescents whose family life was disrupted through an illness and a death of a parent. The nuclear family was dissolved and parent, children, and siblings, now became physically separated. The lack of parent and child bonding with the surviving parent results. The psychological and emotional results of the separation often have taken the form of resentment and anger toward the surviving parent. Several of the participants manifested these feelings together with loneliness and sadness . School and peers helped to shape the participants' lives and behavior in Japan. *Shushin*, the instructions of ethics and morals, taught at school, became a useful and important guide for daily behavior. The relationship with their extended family and relatives reinforced traditional Japanese cultural values and beliefs in the participants' lives. Thus, even without the primary bonding with the surviving parent, the participants, as children, learned and cultivated the values of *oyakoko* (filial piety), *enryo* (modestly deferring to authority), *gaman* (patience

and endurance in the face of hardships), and *giri* and *on* (fulfilling responsibilities and obligations to others).

The participants defined themselves upon returning to the United States as adolescents. But, in the context of pre-war life, many of the participants were beginning to take responsibility for their own lives as young adults and individuals. Not as individuals separate from family, but individuals that are still responsibly connected to their family. Their longer Japanese education, the English language handicap, their separation from their surviving Issei parent and Nisei siblings, and their conflicts with other Nisei defined their difference and distance from the Japanese community while within it. The encounter with racial prejudice and discrimination in the larger Caucasian world heightened the difference and perception of themselves from Caucasians. Their grounding in traditional Japanese values and behavior were often perceived negatively by both the pre-war Japanese community and mainstream Caucasian world. In spite of it, the participants were highly involved with their work and educational efforts.

During the war, the participants' self-definition initially came into conflict. The participants were often pulled in two directions: for Japan or for America as they were compelled to take a stand and declare unequivocal loyalty in the face of an ambiguous conflict. The two participants in the concentration camps were choosing to return to Japan. One defined himself as being loyal to Japan; the other felt there was no choice but to return to Japan when his constitutional rights were taken away and he was treated as a "foreigner." Four of the participants served the United States armed services or with the government. Two of the participants worked as interpreters for the government. And

one worked for the military intelligence effort in the Pacific. One participant in the Army challenged the mistreatment of himself and other Kibei soldiers and he and his friends were court-martialed and sentenced to hard labor for the duration of the war. One participant was neither in the concentration camps nor in any branch of the armed services. Although permitted to continue his business, he and others who lived in the "free zone" of Utah were under the restrictions imposed by the military.

After World War II, they defined themselves as responsible adults citizens with a serious responsibility to their family and community. Providing for their family and the education of their children was primary. Traditional Japanese values and beliefs were reflected in their responsibility towards their family, but the way these values and beliefs were communicated were not always successful. Their children were greatly influenced by American values of independence, individuality, freedom, and human rights which at times conflicted with Japanese group values at home.

Several of the participants continue to be highly ambivalent towards Caucasians, citing a lack of trust as a reason. This reveals a guarded optimism of the Japanese Americans because of the unpredictable and subtle racism that continues to exist today. However, the positive aspect is that the Kibei has much to contribute as a "bridge" for furthering Japanese and American relationship and understanding. Five of the seven participants are actively working in their community to further this relationship.

The three interviews with each participant was, in effect, naming and identifying the issues in the lives of the participants. Critical reflection leading to transformative action will involve further interviews. The Kibei participants in general seem not to have

allowed themselves to fully re-experience the sufferings of the past. A gradual and mutual involvement in a genuine dialogue will hopefully engender further love, trust, equality and hope, as Freire stated (1981).

Reflections of the Researcher

The researcher's experience with this participatory research process was one of a struggle towards understanding. The reasons are twofold. First of all, the researcher was initially naive and inexperienced about the practical utilization of this research methodology. The questions guiding the dialogues became too prominent in the researcher's mind and, on occasions, he disrupted the dialogical process with his own impatience for responses to the questions. He realized it was not easy to set aside traditional paradigms of research interviews. He discovered albeit painfully at times that it took much time and effort to uncover the true intent of this creative and educational process. Only recently can he modestly claim to have gained a glimmer of understanding of this methodology. A recent statement by the researcher's dissertation advisor finally resonated in him. "Participatory research is a philosophical stance, and is not conscribed to any one specific methodological procedure" (Ada, 1993). The philosophical and ideological underpinnings from which this methodology evolves must be understood and supported. It refers to an existential and phenomenological understanding of human beings in the world attempting to reclaim their rights to be and to become.

Secondly, the dialogical nature of this research methodology focuses on the intentionality and commitment of the researcher. This intentionality is grounded in the philosophical and ideological nature of this methodology. In effect, "participatory

research is a long range ongoing engagement for the purpose of emancipation and the search for social justice and equality" (Ada, 1993). Although the researcher has completed his present study, he realizes that his commitment to the Kibei men must continue. This is even more imperative in light of his realization in the course of the dialogues with the participants that he was simply touching the surface of their lives. Three interviews with the participants barely allowed them to enter the "real" world of their life experiences.

In a practical sense, the collaboration as co-researchers between the researcher and the participant creates an opportunity for a genuine dialogue and a real shared experience. In the present study, the researcher was genuinely affected by the sufferings endured by the participants, and the results of those sufferings that continue to this day. The collaboration as co-researchers can also be "therapeutic" to both the researcher and participant, and thus become transformative, as described by White and Epston (1990).

Finally, the researcher also sees the practical value of participatory research in the Western world's understanding of the evolution of an Eastern-based religion such as Buddhism. Participatory research can engage people in a mutual collaborative process to see and identify the nature and direction of the changes to come.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Further Research

Since the present study was largely naming and identifying the issues of the Kibei, follow up research to further reflect on them would be positive in gaining a more

comprehensive and in depth portrait of their self-identity. In effect, follow-up research focusing on specific issues identified related to self-identity would be welcome. Family members and Nisei peers may also be interviewed to better understand the Kibei's self-identity. Also, a Japanese social-psychological model of *tatemae* (literally the "establishment of the front," i.e., outer self) and *honne* (literally the "basic sound," i.e., inner self) (Doi, 1990) and its relationship to the Kibei may be examined.

Similar research can also be conducted with Kibei women to learn about their self-definition in contrast to the Kibei men.

Recommendation for Programs

There is a need, especially in the Japanese American community, to provide an on-going educational process to replace the negative image of the Kibei with positive ones. Public forums and discussion groups can facilitate this process. The Kibei need to articulate their perceptions of themselves and address the historical conditions that precipitated their negative image. Where there has been a positive transformation in the Kibei's life, that change needs to be expressed. Also, the educational process may bring to light the positive qualities of both Japanese and American values which the Kibei may suggest, especially to younger Japanese Americans as well as other younger Asian Americans.

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